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20 January 1983

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No. 2695

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PRESS ON NONALIGNED SUMMIT PREPARATIONS, PROSPECTS

Requests To Attend

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Nov 82 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 23.

An important development on the non-aligned front is that, on the eve of the French President, Mr. Mitterrand's visit to India, France has come forward with the request that it may be permitted to attend the forthcoming summit as an observer, the first member of the Western alliance to express such a desire to be formally associated with the movement.

As a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO), France is not entitled to be admitted to the non-aligned summit either as an observer or even as a guest in the normal course, but the request has been made on the basis of the exceptions made in the past in similar situation.

A number of countries objected to the admission of Malta as a full member on the ground that there was a British base on the island as part of the NATO set-up in the Mediterranean. But it was finally admitted on the strength of a promise made by its Prime Minister, Mr. Dom Mintoff, that Malta intended to close down this base and opt out of the commitments made while it was still under British rule.

Rumania's bid: The three European countries--Austria, Sweden and Finland--which are not part of any military alliance would have been qualified to be admitted as full members if they so desired, but they chose to be treated as guests and have been attending non-aligned summits in this capacity.

Rumania made an ambitious bid at the Colombo summit to seek observer status despite its membership of the Warsaw Pact, but was offered only the status of a guest.

At the earlier summit in Algiers, North Korea was admitted as a full member at the concluding session when there was not even quorum, while South Korea continues to be denied similar treatment on the ground that American troops are still on its territory. The non-aligned community has thus been making exceptions to the admission rules depending on political compulsions.

There are altogether 97 full members, about 20 observers consisting of both countries and organisations, and nearly 15 guests who are entitled to attend non-aligned conferences. The countries that are observers include Latin American States like Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela which could have joined as full members, but preferred to have only limited association with the non-aligned movement for their own reasons.

It is not going to be easy for a country like India to harness the necessary consensus to get France admitted as an observer because of its NATO connection. The farthest that India can go is to get an invitation extended to France as a guest as a special political gesture to emphasise the changing character of the non-aligned movement.

The prescribed procedure for the admission of new members, observers or guests is that the country concerned must formally send in an application to the chairman, which happens to be Cuba at present. The chairman will consult the Coordination Bureau and make a recommendation to the heads of Government through the Foreign Ministers meeting on the eve of the summit to admit the applicant State in a suitable capacity whether as a member, observer or guest depending on each case.

The French request has been made to India and, in accordance with the existing procedure, it will have to be forwarded to Cuba, since at this stage India has no locus standi to process it. So, it is rather surprising that France has chosen to convey its desire to India without broaching the subject with Cuba in the first place.

Columbia also applies: An equally piquant situation has been created by Columbia which has written to India requesting its admission as a full member of the non-aligned movement. When it was told that the request should be addressed to the current chairman, Columbia replied that this could not be done since it had no diplomatic relations with Cuba. Whatever the procedure for processing the request for observer status or offering a guest invitation in lieu of it, the fact that a major European country like France has decided to establish a closer link with the non-aligned community has its own international significance. An observer State is entitled to attend both the open and closed sessions of the plenary and committee meetings not only during the summits but also the inter-summit ministerial conferences.

There have been occasions when observer States have been allowed to voice their views although they are not entitled to vote. But since all decisions of the non-aligned community are taken on the basis of consensus and not majority vote, the observers tend to function as virtual members for all practical purposes.

The guests, on the other hand, can attend only the open sessions and are not entitled to be heard on any issue under consideration. If the existing criteria are to be applied in the case of France, it will have to come in first as a guest before it is considered for observer status in due course making a special exception.

## Efforts for Consensus

Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Dec 82 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 3.

As the host country, India is facing multifarious problems in organising the forthcoming non-aligned summit and infusing into this heterogeneous movement a new sense of unity amidst diversity with a steadfast adherence to its basic principles.

The real challenge to India is how to provide a positive thrust to the discussions and ensure that the declarations represent a wide measure of agreement on issues of fundamental importance to all the member States.

The Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra, left for New York tonight to confer with the permanent representatives of the non-aligned countries at the United Nations on the concept and content of the political and economic declarations. The drafts drawn up by the host country, in consultation with the more important member countries, have to be circulated at least six weeks before the summit to elicit the views of the other member States.

**Three committees:** There are three high-power committees of senior officials dealing with political, economic and organisational aspects of the summit, with the Prime Minister and External Affairs Minister coordinating the preparatory work to ensure the largest measure of agreement on each important issue that will come up for discussion.

The point that India has been emphasising in the course of consultations with other member countries is that unity does not mean unanimity, much less conformity, since dissent should not be mistaken for discord when there are honest differences.

The coordination bureau, which will be meeting at ministerial level next month in Managua, capital of Nicaragua, to discuss the Central American situation, will have an opportunity to consider the broad approach to these drafts. The intention is to do everything possible to secure not only the largest measure of agreement but also the necessary unity of action by highlighting the shared values and common objectives that unite the community rather than divide it.

**Sensitive issues:** The more sensitive issues that might lead to a certain amount of controversy during this summit are Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Iran-Iraq war, Chad and Western Sahara, while there will be complete or near unanimity on issues like Namibia, Arab-Israeli conflict, North-South dialogue, disarmament and collective self-reliance. The question is

how to reconcile the conflicting views of member countries without sacrificing principles and in the process endangering the future of the non-aligned movement.

The majority opinion on any of these issues must be flexible enough to enable the dissenting minority to go along with it in the larger interests of non-alignment. It is in this context that the reported attempts of some countries to secure a condemnatory resolution on Afghanistan to assail the continued Soviet presence assumes controversial overtones, like the ASEAN move to get Prince Sihanouk invited to the Delhi summit in his personal capacity as the only surviving founder of the non-aligned movement.

**OAU differences:** The continued deadlock over Chad and Western Sahara in the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), which with its membership of 42 countries constitutes about 40 per cent of the non-aligned community, continues to cause concern to countries like India which are striving hard behind the scenes to ensure that the Delhi summit does not get bogged down in bitter controversy over such peripheral issues.

These difficulties cannot be overcome unless the member countries reconcile themselves to the reality that, since the non-aligned States are also developing nations, they have to contend with all the tensions of the existing inequalities which manifest themselves in different forms including territorial disputes.

The Indian officials entrusted with the preparatory work of the summit are thus obliged to take a semi-philosophical, semi-political view of the centrifugal pressures at work within the non-aligned community in stressing the pluralistic nature of the movement in what is now a multi-polar world with many more power centres. The non-aligned movement can survive, in India's view, only by eschewing narrow national, parochial and ideological interests.

The draft declarations will try to focus attention on the organisational and functional aspects of the non-aligned movement, while pleading for greater unity and cohesion backed by what is called a sub-conscious motivation to fight for the rights of the poorer nations. As India sees it, there is no contradiction between the obligations of the non-aligned countries to work together in pursuit of these lofty objectives and their right to pursue simultaneously their enlightened self-interest.

'TASS' Interview with Rao

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 6 Dec 82 p 8

[Text] The dangers arising from the escalating arms race and the stock piling of nuclear weapons were likely to be 'in the focus of discussions' at the Seventh Non-Aligned summit here next March, External Affairs Minister P V Narasimha Rao said in New Delhi on Sunday, reports UNI.

In an interview to TASS, Mr Rao said an equally important subject at the summit would be restructuring of the international economic order.

'The world cannot be a tranquil place if policies of neo-colonialism, discrimination and pressure tactics in inter-State economic relations were still practised', he added.

Mr Rao said 'given the complex international situation today, India attaches great significance to the preservation of cohesion and unity of the non-aligned movement.' He stressed that it was only through this that a 'dispassionate and balanced approach to several contentious issues could be evolved and sources of global tensions eliminated.'

Mr Rao welcomed the Soviet initiative to not to be the first to use nuclear weapons as a step towards their total elimination. The adoption of similar obligations by other nuclear weapon States would contribute to the achievement of this objective, he added.

Mr Rao said India had called for negotiations on a convention for non-use of nuclear weapons. Both India and the Soviet Union have also underlined the importance of a freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons as well as the production of fissionable nuclear materials for weapons.

Mr Rao said India was active in the non-aligned movement and other forums canvassing general and complete disarmament.

India intended to make every effort within the United Nations and outside it, to ensure convening of conference in 1984 on keeping the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, the Minister said.

On Indo-Soviet bilateral relations, Mr Rao said Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's recent meeting with General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party Yuri Andropov in Moscow "took place in an atmosphere of great warmth and understanding". Both sides emphasised the need for further strengthening the Indo-Soviet friendship and cooperation, he added.

CSO: 4600/1455

INDIA

'PATRIOT' QUESTIONS U.S. ENVOY'S RAJASTHAN VISIT

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Dec 82 p 1

[Text] Jaipur, Dec. 1--The United States seems to have been taking a keen interest in the social and political life of Rajasthan.

What is the specific purpose of the visit of controversial US ambassador H. G. Barnes here is not known even to the top State officials. But the fact remains that he has been meeting people from various walks of life. Mr Barnes who is here since 26 November, has met among others ruling party leaders including Chief Minister Shiv Charan Mathur and the Governor.

He has not been accorded treatment of a State guest as he is on a private visit. But according to the State protocol officer through an official circular, the district administrations of Jaipur and Ajmer have been asked to provide all facilities for his boarding, lodging and security. But the State administration has no knowledge of his engagements.

On Monday, all of a sudden, a message from the Speaker of the Assembly was sent to the Government photography section to send a photographer to cover lunch hosted by Speaker Poonamchand Vishnoi to Mr Barnes. The lunch was attended by three State Ministers which was kept a secret.

When this correspondent approached protocol officers to know the details of the programme of the ambassador, they expressed their helplessness.

The only well publicised part of his tour was his visit to the office of a leading Hindi daily on Monday where he reportedly had "free and frank" discussions. He also visited Ajmer.

CSO: 4600/1436

ANALYST WRITES ON OUTCOME OF INDO-EGYPTIAN TALKS

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 1.

The one-day visit of the Egyptian President, Mr. Hosni Mubarak, to Delhi for talks with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on the West Asian situation has helped to break the ice and bring the two countries closer again.

The main outcome of what has been described by both sides as a "free, frank and friendly" discussion between the two leaders is the realisation that, despite their differing approaches to several aspects of the Arab-Israeli conflict, India and Egypt could still work together to promote the Arab cause and uphold the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

**Two-hour talks:** The two leaders conferred today without any aides for nearly two hours, while their Foreign Ministers, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao and Mr. Kamal Hassan, met separately along with their senior advisers to have a more detailed discussion on the implications of the Franco-Egyptian peace plan.

The talks were not aimed at evolving an Indo-Egyptian initiative, either independently or in concert with other countries, but only at dispelling the misgivings about each other's attitudes.

In extending a cautious and qualified welcome to the Franco-Egyptian proposals along with the other peace moves under way for a West Asian settlement, India had also drawn attention to the imperative requirement that the principle of mutual and simultaneous recognition by Israel and the PLO must be based on equity and justice. The Arab recognition of the Israeli right to exist must be followed by a corresponding Israeli acceptance of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

The PLO should be entitled, in India's view, to full participation in any negotiations between Israel and the Arab States for an overall settlement. It means that the recognition of Israel by PLO must be matched by an Israeli recognition of PLO as a representative organisation of the Palestinian people.

**Special role for PLO:** Though the Egyptian President did not go that far in conceding a

special role for the PLO in negotiating a settlement with Israel, he nevertheless, impressed his Indian hosts as a bold and imaginative personality with a bit of the Nasser spark in him, who was anxious to shed the ugly legacies of the Sadat era and get back into the Arab mainstream.

It was for this reason that India had welcomed the Franco-Egyptian peace plan with some reservations to enable Mr. Mubarak re-establish some degree of credibility for Egyptian policies in the eyes of the other Arab peoples.

But otherwise the Indian side had no illusions at all that the Franco-Egyptian initiative would make any headway in persuading or pressuring Israel to react positively to the pleas for a fair settlement. Mr. Mubarak was told as politely and firmly as possible that unless Israel was compelled to vacate the occupied Arab territories starting off with Lebanon, there could be no peace at all in this troubled region.

**Economic relations:** The Indian and the Egyptian officials participating in these discussions utilised the opportunity to take a fresh look at bilateral economic relations which had slumped in recent years in the wake of Egypt's political isolation.

The Egyptian President was also keen that his country, as one of the founders of the non-aligned movement, should play its rightful role at the forthcoming summit in Delhi. He was quite appreciative of the firm stand that India had taken at the last two summits against the Arab move to expel Egypt or at least suspend its participation in non-aligned conferences.

The change of leadership in Egypt followed by some degree of change at least in its postures, has also helped to tone down the hostility of other Arab States in the sense that it is no longer being fiercely denounced and branded as a traitor to the Arab cause. Though the more militant Arabs are still wary of the Egyptian attitudes, they are not refusing to talk with Mr. Mubarak and treating him as an untouchable.

The reopening of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, followed by a firm reassertion of its point of view in Egypt's dealings with the U.S. has given Mr. Mubarak a certain amount of flexibility in the conduct of his foreign relations.

It is not without significance that he sought, and pressed for, this meeting with Mrs. Gandhi at this time to reopen a line of communication with India as part of his determined effort to place Egypt again at the forefront of the non-aligned movement and, in the process, work for a rapprochement with the other Arab States.

The diplomatic observers in Delhi, who have been taking considerable interest in these Indo-Egyptian discussions, have been equally impressed by the imagination shown by Mrs.

Gandhi in responding readily to Mr. Mubarak's request for a meeting despite her other preoccupations.

**Wider attempt:** They see in this meeting the beginning of a wider attempt, at different levels and by different countries, to restore step by step the missing balance in the West Asian situation. In their opinion Israel would be running a grave risk in the long run in shunning reasonable offers for a settlement and persisting in its monumental folly of permanent confrontation.

As India sees it, the Arabs are bound to reunite sooner or later at some point. And when this happens, no U.S. Government is going to throw them together into the Soviet lap by blindly backing Israel in its adventurism at the cost of the vital American interests.

CSO: 4600/1433

INDIA

CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON TALKS WITH EGYPT, FRANCE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Dec 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] India has made it clear to both France and Egypt that mutual recognition of Israel and the PLO as spelt out by the Franco-Egyptian proposal to overcome the West Asian crisis would not be adequate under the present circumstances.

During her talks with President Francois Mitterrand Prime Minister Indira Gandhi stressed the need for Israel recognising not only the PLO but a Palestinian state in the territorial sense for which Palestinians under the PLO leadership had been waging legitimate struggle all these years.

She politely told Mr Mitterrand that while the Franco-Egyptian proposal was an advance on the Reagan plan and as such an important initiative in the West Asian crisis, it was not sufficient to meet the demands of the situation.

According to informed opinion in official circles, India feels that only a proposal which was acceptable to the Arab states could be feasible in the prevailing conditions. This was conveyed by Mrs Gandhi in an interview with Egyptian editors on Tuesday.

It was also significant that both President Zail Singh and the Prime Minister stressed that a solution to the West Asia crisis could be found only if the just and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people were restored and they were given their homeland.

The President was speaking at a banquet he gave in honour of Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak who arrived in the Capital in the evening on a three-day visit in which he will discuss with Mrs Gandhi the Franco-Egyptian proposal (embodied in a resolution in the UN Security Council) on West Asia.

Indian Stand

Mrs Indira Gandhi, in an interview with Egyptian editors, further spelt out the Indian stand and its desire for peace in West Asia. Referring to her meeting with French President Mitterrand, in which he discussed the proposals with her, Mrs Gandhi said, "I do not think the meeting brought us any closer to a solution".

Expressing her unhappiness at the Israeli attacks on West Beirut the Prime Minister said the US should exert its influence on Israel to come to terms with the Arabs. To a question if the Soviet Union could also take such an initiative, Mrs Gandhi said it had no such influence on Israel. She stressed that a solution would have to be found by the countries of the region.

Mr Mubarak, who is accompanied by his Foreign Minister Amal Hasan Ali and the Minister of State Dr Boutros Ghali, will have detailed discussions with Mrs Gandhi on Wednesday. He will also meet heads of African missions in India before leaving for Oman on his way home on Thursday.

With the Franco-Egyptian proposals and its participation in the Fez summit of the Islamic countries, Egypt under Mr Mubarak seeks to regain the position it once had in the region and the non-aligned movement under Nasser but lost under Mr Sadat.

On his arrival in Delhi, the Egyptian President was received by President Zail Singh, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and External Affairs Minister P V Narasimha Rao.

CSO: 4600/1431

INDIA

INDIA, EGYPT AGREE TO SET UP JOINT PANEL

Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Dec 82 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Dec. 1.

India and Egypt have agreed to set up a joint committee at ministerial level to ensure accelerated cooperation in various fields. Briefing newsmen after the talks today between the Egyptian President, Mr. Hosni Mubarak and the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, the Secretary in the External Affairs Ministry, Mr. Romesh Bandhari and the Egyptian Ambassador Mr. Osama-el-Baz said the two leaders discussed many multilateral and international issues and bilateral relations.

Talks were also held between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries. The Indian side included the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao; the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. A. A. Rahim; the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Dr. P. C. Alexander; and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Rasgotra. The Egyptian side was led by the Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, Mr. Kamal Hassan.

No basic disagreement: According to Mr. Osama el Baz, the Egyptian President was pleased with the meeting because it revealed a similarity of views between the two countries on most issues. "We found that we have no basic disagreement on any issue", he said and added that the analysis of the global situation showed that the basic positions of the two countries were similar on many issues like reducing tension and arms race, and problems confronting the non-aligned countries. Both leaders also saw eye-to-eye on the Namibian issue and on the need to strengthen the Organisation of African Unity (OAU).

Peace in W. Asia: Asked whether India offered to take the initiative alone or jointly with Egypt, to bring peace in West Asia, Mr. Baz said no specific offer was made or sought. Both India and Egypt agreed that in any peace talks Palestinian participation should be guaranteed.

Mr. Baz said there was no hesitation on the part of Egypt to recognise the PLO as representative of the Palestinians but the question as to who should represent them in the peace talks should be left to be decided by the Palestinians themselves. The PLO might participate or depute some other group.

He reiterated the Egyptian position that the Palestinian right to self-determination should be recognised by Israel and simultaneously Israel's right to exist should be recognised by the PLO.

In this context, he clarified the reported statement of Mr. Mubarak advising the PLO to take the initiative in recognising Israel. The idea was that if the PLO took the first step, it would help to put pressure on Israel to reciprocate by recognising the Palestinian's right to self-determination.

Egypt wanted the PLO to declare its intention to recognise, subject to the condition that Israel would reciprocate. Egypt was trying its best to persuade Israel to do so.

He, however, admitted that Egypt had not succeeded so far in converting the Israeli Government and public opinion totally. But he felt that some inroads had been made, judging from the increasing support from Israelis for an independent Palestinian State.

He noted in this connection that for the first time 400,000 people in Israel had demonstrated against the policy of their Government in Lebanon.

CSO: 4600/1433

## INDIA, FRANCE AGREE ON CULTURAL EXCHANGES

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Dec 82 pp 1, 9

## [Excerpts]

NEW DELHI, November 30.

**I**NDIA and France will draw up a programme for an exchange of visits by artists, writers, teachers and government officials on a continuing basis.

This was agreed to following a suggestion made by the French side at the bilateral talks that concluded yesterday. In choosing persons belonging to different professions at the middle level, preference will be given to those who show promise of reaching the top.

According to a spokesman of the external affairs ministry, these visitors will spend at least a year in acquainting themselves with the methods of working and the life styles in the respective countries. This is expected to promote mutual understanding.

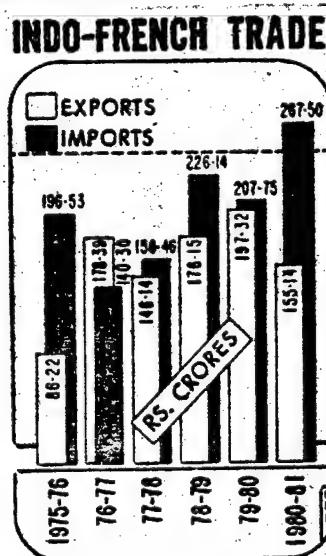
The two sides have also agreed that a festival of Indian arts would be organised in France in 1984 or 1985.

The talks held during the French President, Mr. Francois Mitterrand's stay here, devoted considerable time to cultural relations between the two countries. It was also decided to hold seminars.

On the political side, the two countries agreed that super power confrontation had added to tensions in different regions of the globe. The two sides examined the problems of West Asia and covered the situation in South-East Asia and the conflicts and tensions in the Gulf region.

Mr. Mitterrand said at the airport that he was completely satisfied with his talks with the Indian leaders.

PTI adds: The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has said that in the entire West Asian situation it is basically the Israeli and the U.S. attitude "which will influence matters."



CSO: 4600/1427

## ANALYST DISCUSSES MITTERAND, MUBARAK VISITS

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 30.

As the Egyptian President, Mr. Hosni Mubarak, arrived in Delhi today for important discussions with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on the West Asian situation, India welcomed the various initiatives under way, including the latest Franco-Egyptian move for a settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict.

In the first official Indian comment on the Franco-Egyptian plan after Mrs. Gandhi's talks with the French President, Mr. Francois Mitterrand on the subject, the President, Mr. Zail Singh, said at the banquet given in honour of Mr. Mubarak tonight: "We have welcomed the various initiatives that have been taken, including that by Egypt in conjunction with France."

Hitherto, India had been highly critical of the late President Sadat's action in signing the Camp David agreements and entering into a peace treaty with Israel before it had vacated occupied Arab territories and arrived at a just solution of the Palestinian problem in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions. But today it reversed the earlier stand and extended a cautious welcome to the new Franco-Egyptian peace initiative, taking due note of the efforts President Mubarak was making to regain the lost identity of Egypt and get back into the Arab mainstream.

**Mubarak's visit**

The Egyptian President has arrived on a one-day working visit to Delhi with a three-fold objective. First, he wants to re-establish the close cordiality, mutuality of interest and traditional friendship that prevailed between India and Egypt in the past. Secondly, he is keen that Egypt should regain its lost influence in the non-aligned movement. Thirdly, he is anxious for some rapprochement with other Arab States.

The Indian policy is to encourage President Mubarak to the extent possible in his pursuit of these objectives. But in according a cautious welcome to the Franco-Egyptian peace plan, Mrs. Gandhi is taking the stand that a solution to the tragic Arab-Israeli tangle can be found only by the countries of the region. It is not India's policy to press the PLO leader,

Mr. Yasser Arafat, to heed the Franco-Egyptian advice and recognise Israel to open the way for fresh negotiations.

But the Egyptian leader has told friendly countries like India that, in appealing to Mr. Arafat to recognise Israel, he was not in any way asking the PLO to submit to Israeli aggression. He was only advising the PLO to treat this only as a tactical move to deny Israel any further excuse for not engaging in any meaningful dialogue with the Arab States to arrive at a lasting settlement without using the so-called Arab obstinacy as an excuse to hang on to its fruits of aggression.

The Indian view is that the only country which can effectively influence Israel to come to a fair and equitable settlement with the Arabs is the United States. The Arab States cannot exert their collective voice as long as they are divided and all of them including Egypt must rise above narrow self-interest to pave the way for their unity to safeguard their legitimate rights.

**Promising feature**

A promising feature of Mr. Mubarak's visit is that there is no evidence of any great hostility among the Arab diplomats here towards the new regime in Egypt, although they are still wary of openly fraternising with it. It is a sad commentary on Arab politics that the visiting Egyptian President will be meeting tomorrow only the African heads of missions, not of the Arab States.

At the banquet, welcoming Mr. Mubarak, the President said that even though he was on a short visit, India valued the opportunity it provided for exchange of views on important issues of concern to both countries, their regions and the world, reports PTI.

**Bilateral ties:** Egypt and India had once been responsible for building great civilisations. "The cross-fertilisation between these rich cultural heritages has created a natural and lasting bond between our two countries and peoples". Gamal Abdel Nasser and Jawaharlal Nehru were amongst the principal architects of

the policy of non-alignment as an effective means for countries to assert their national independence, the President recalled.

Indo-Egyptian relations, Mr. Zail Singh said, had been characterised by warmth and mutually beneficial cooperation.

Mr. Mubarak demanded that Israeli forces "must withdraw totally" from Lebanon at once and said "peace cannot be made under the pressure of military occupation and domination."

The Non-Aligned Movement was "singularly qualified" to play a vital role for the good of mankind he said. It should, therefore, devise a new system to guarantee the security of its

member states. It could "instil more vigour" into arms reduction talks and reduce tension among power blocs.

An effective mechanism, he said, should also be created for solving disputes within the movement. In this connection he called for immediate termination of the "futile" war between Iran and Iraq.

He referred to the several initiatives taken recently for facilitating the movement towards peace in West Asia, and said all of them "constitute tributaries that lead to the same stream." But the golden opportunity, he said, should never be wasted "for the history of our region is one of lost opportunities".

CSO: 4600/1430

## PAPER REPORTS DEVELOPMENTS IN MITTERAND VISIT

Discussions on 27 Nov

Madras THE HINDU in English 28 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 27.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the French President, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, had their first round of talks today lasting nearly 90 minutes, making a *tour d'horizon* of the international scene, unhampered by the irksome differences over the nuclear fuel supply issue which was satisfactorily resolved late last night.

A brief reference was, no doubt, made to the implications of the understanding reached on the Tarapur question after protracted negotiations, but the two leaders preferred to leave the details of follow-up steps to be settled by the officials concerned in due course, so that they could concentrate on more important international and bilateral issues during their two rounds of discussions.

When Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mitterrand met this afternoon, the Indian and French delegations were heaving a sigh of relief that what seemed to be an intractable issue was got out of the way at the last moment.

The two sides were equally anxious that these Indo-French talks should not be soured by the persisting differences over the nuclear fuel supply issue, although the divergence had been considerably narrowed down.

The issue was finally sorted out late last night — rather past midnight — after a day-long ordeal of intense diplomatic exchanges. It started with a call by the French Ambassador, Mr. Andre Ross, on the Prime Minister with some suggestions from Paris for making the memorandum of understanding a little more specific to sustain the French position.

**Prime Minister firm**

But Mrs. Gandhi's reaction was quite firm and clear that there should be no scope at all for any ambiguity that all Tarapur safeguards would automatically cease to operate in 1993 at the expiry of the 1963 Indo-U.S. agreement and that the proposed fuel supply arrangement with France must be within its framework. The French Ambassador then got in touch with Mr. Mitterrand in Cairo through Paris to seek fresh instructions in the light of Mrs. Gandhi's strong reiteration of the Indian position.

The dialogue was resumed later in the evening after the French Ambassador agreed to drop his earlier plea for a clearer reflection of his Government's implied non-proliferation obligations in assuming the new fuel supply responsibility even as an ongoing arrangement.

The three Indian negotiators — the Principal Secretary to the Prime Minister, Dr. P. C. Alexander, the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, Mr. H. N. Sethna, and the Foreign Secretary, Mr. M. K. Rasgotra — met at the residence of the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, to discuss how far India could go to accommodate the French obligations without diluting the Indian position.

The scene of discussions then shifted to the French Ambassador's residence a little before midnight and the accord was reached at 12-45 a.m. and Mr. Sethna and Mr. Ross signed the brief memorandum of understanding at 12-55 a.m. The official spokesman rang up the news agencies around 1 a.m. to get the brief announcement that an agreement had been reached into the morning papers, before Mr. Mitterrand's scheduled arrival at 8-30 a.m.

This agonising drama was enacted in the full knowledge that both sides were simply playing with words in the construction of a couple of key sentences in what was roughly a half-page draft to ensure that they could be interpreted differently to uphold their respective politics.

It was to avoid any feeling of embarrassment to France that the official spokesman was authorised to say in his brief press statement last night that the agreement was arrived at after detailed discussions which had taken care of the "respective concerns" of the two sides.

It was later explained today that what had been signed last night was only an official "understanding" and not an "agreement", since the understanding reached was that France would supply the fuel under the existing 1963 Indo-U.S. agreement.

The brief document merely states that France would take the place of the U.S. and that the two countries would keep in touch with each other on other aspects during the remaining period of this agreement.

The reference to "respective concerns", it was pointed out today, meant quite clearly that, whatever the nature of the understanding reached, as far as India was concerned, it would be deemed to be within the four corners of the 1963 agreement.

It would also enable France to maintain that its international obligations had been met to the extent that, though its right to invoke the application of the perpetuity clause had not been explicitly conceded, it had not been precluded either from raising this issue at some stage.

It was quite evident from the text of the accord released tonight that India's firmness had paid and France had yielded on essential points for all practical purposes. The Indian side simply reaffirmed its commitment to use the fuel and its by-products only for peaceful purposes, subject to the safeguards already in existence with no additional obligations. France had reserved the right to engage in consultations as and when required to ensure that these obligations are faithfully met.

But the question of what happens to the spent fuel or its derivatives after 1993 has been left open for the present, in the sense that the U.S. has also done so placing a different interpretation on the disputed perpetuity obligations. It is anybody's guess at this stage how the U.S. and France tackle this problem, separately or jointly, when the time comes for it.

The best interpretation that could be placed on the final outcome of these protracted negotiations

spread out over four months was that an awkward issue was got out of the way a few hours before Mr. Mitterrand's arrival in Delhi. The points of difference were deliberately blurred to leave either side free to interpret the understanding as it liked depending on its political compulsions. It cannot be said that the issue has been finally resolved in all its essential aspects. It was nevertheless a personal triumph for the French Ambassador, who worked assiduously to settle this issue, while taking all possible care to avoid the appearance of any climbdown by France. As the controversy had been mishandled by the French side during his home leave, he had to work hard to retrieve the situation. He finally succeeded in cutting the Gordian knot and celebrated the event with his Indian colleagues late last night in true French style.

### Red carpet welcome

Mr. Mitterrand was given a red carpet welcome at the Delhi airport by the President, Mr. Zail Singh, the Prime Minister, and the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, report PTI, UNI. After receiving a 21 gun salute, the French President inspected a guard of honour.

Mr. Zail Singh read his welcome address in Hindustani departing from the official text prepared for him in English. The President's welcome speech was translated simultaneously in French by an Indian interpreter.

### French Proposals Noted

Madras THE HINDU in English 29 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 28.

The visiting French President, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, has offered to transfer the very latest French technology that India is capable of absorbing for stepping up the pace of its development and achieving a higher degree of self-reliance.

Apart from setting up an institute for advanced research in India with French cooperation, he has proposed a long-term programme of scientific, technical and industrial collaboration for making new technological advances with active Indian participation, so that the two countries could share the benefits of their combined skills and resources.

This would present, in Mr. Mitterrand's view, an eloquent example of North-South cooperation without the stigma of an unequal relationship that is inherent in the present pattern of international developmental assistance. It was for this reason that he wanted India and France to take the lead in giving their rapidly developing economic relations a deeper significance and a wider dimension.

The current Indo-French dialogue is being conducted at two levels with Mr. Mitterrand and Mrs. Indira Gandhi talking about the loftier aspects of the growing relationship both in the political and economic spheres, while the Ministers and senior officials accompanying the

French President are holding parallel discussions down the line to determine the scope for its diversification.

An interesting feature of these exchanges is that the French are attaching considerable importance to a parallel development of cultural relations with India as an adjunct to the developing political and economic cooperation.

### Festival of India

Apart from offering to hold a Festival of India in France in 1984-85, Mr. Mitterrand has also proposed the establishment of an Indian cultural centre in Paris to promote a better awareness in France of the country's artistic and literary heritage as one of the great civilisations of the world.

The mystique of India, which has had a special fascination for the French people, needed to be interpreted in his opinion in more contemporary terms to demonstrate the resilience of the Indian spirit as a rapidly developing nation.

The French President has told his Indian hosts, in the course of his formal and informal talks with them, that he has not come in search of new markets for French products, but to create a better awareness the world over of how two enlightened countries, representing the developed and developing societies, could

act as pace-setters in establishing a more equitable economic order for the good of the entire mankind.

In holding out the prospect of closer Indo-French cooperation, Mr. Mitterrand made it quite clear, he was not in any way pleading for a special place for France in India's economic development, but only focussing attention on the opportunities open for mutually beneficial cooperation.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and her senior Cabinet colleagues who have had the opportunity to talk to him have been greatly impressed by Mr. Mitterrand's humanism and compassion for the Third World, besides his admirable grasp of the complexities of the present-day international situation and down-to-earth realism in discussing France's own role as a maverick of the Western alliance.

### Initiative on W.Asia

During the first round of his talks yesterday, the French President spoke of the need for some imaginative initiative to bring about a breakthrough in the search for an Arab-Israeli settlement. If he proposed a recognition of Israel by the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) as a starting point for a new dialogue, it was only to open the way for meaningful

negotiations based on the realities of the situation and not to condone the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the terrible tragedy enacted there.

Mr. Mitterrand stressed the complementarity between the Indian and French approaches to many world problems despite the fact that they tended to disagree sharply on some of them. But he felt that this need not come in the way of the two countries working together to promote better international understanding and serve the cause of peace.

As one who strongly believed in not only East-West detente but also North-South cooperation, he naturally turned to India as the most important Third World country to demonstrate France's desire for a mutually beneficial relationship with the emerging nations.

The basic object of Mr. Mitterrand's visit, it is stressed, is not to clinch any new deals but set the tone at the highest level for carrying forward this dialogue.

The French Ministers and officials have been discussing the possibilities for increased cooperation in various spheres, from stepping up trade, making available more credits and obtaining better quotas from the European Common Market to manufacturing Mirage-2000s, helicopters and missiles under licence.

### Concluding Talks Reported

Madras THE HINDU in English 30 Nov 82 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 29.

The concluding round of Indo-French talks were held today at a two-dimensional level again with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, and the French President, Mr. Francois Mitterrand, discussing the world situation privately without any aides most of the time, while the rest of the two delegations led by the Foreign Ministers were dealing with specific issues of bilateral cooperation in an adjoining room in Rashtrapati Bhavan.

A third level of discussion has been going on at the Defence Ministry between Indian and French officials on various aspects of the proposed long-range cooperation in technological development and manufacture of aircraft, electronics and missile systems for the future.

Mrs. Gandhi continued her talks with the French President at a private lunch at her residence, while the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, played host to the rest of the French delegation at Hyderabad House. The same pattern was followed at the French embassy later in the evening, when the formal return banquet was dispensed with to enable Mr. Mitterrand to spend some more time with Mrs. Gandhi at an informal dinner for rounding off their wideranging exchanges.

The two heads of Government were thus able to spend about five hours together in important political talks, since Mr. Mitterrand's arrival on Saturday morning in Delhi. He is due

to leave for Aurangabad to see the Ellora caves tomorrow and then proceed to Bangalore to have a look at the HAL and visit the Indian Science Institute before leaving for Paris later in the night.

**Multifaceted relationship:** Though the Indian and French delegations are not disclosing what Mrs. Gandhi and Mr. Mitterrand discussed at such length with their Foreign Ministers joining them only for very brief periods on each occasion, it is generally known that they covered the whole gamut of East-West and North-South relations. They also devoted some time to bilateral issues, sharing a mutual desire that everything possible should be done to develop a multifaceted relationship in political, economic and cultural spheres that could serve as a model for increased cooperation between developed and developing nations.

The French President, who is no apologist of the Soviet Union, is reported to have sounded quite confident that the new leadership in the Kremlin would strive for a reasonably good relationship with China to enhance its own leverage in dealing with the U.S. on major East-West issues. He was equally sanguine about the growing desire of Western Europe for some sort of accommodation with Moscow on the arms control question.

**Russia, Vietnam criticised:** But he was no less outspoken in his criticism of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the massive

Vietnamese military presence in Kampuchea, while talking of the need for exerting all possible pressure on both Moscow and Hanoi to work for an early settlement of these problems. The real focal point of the present-day crisis posing a more immediate threat to world peace was, in his view, the Arab-Israeli conflict which called for a bold and innovative move to open the way for a just and lasting settlement.

Mrs. Gandhi, in turn, gave Mr. Mitterrand her assessment of the South Asian situation in drawing attention to the steps India has been taking to improve relations with its neighbours like Bangladesh and Pakistan, besides initiating a dialogue with China on the border dispute.

She is reported to have agreed with Mr. Mitterrand's view that a change of leadership leads to changes in the style of functioning of governments, even if they do not automatically open the way for changes in attitudes as well. In this context the new Soviet leader, Mr. Yuri Andropov, has started off with a reassuring di-

**Personal factor:** According to knowledgeable sources here, there was nothing startlingly new about what Mrs. Gandhi and Mr.

Mitterrand have been saying in the course of these discussions. What really mattered was that the two were able to talk to each other quite candidly without any inhibitions about sensitive world problems. This personal factor, involving a high degree of mutual respect and confidence, had come to be regarded by both sides as a promising element in the evolution of Indo-French relations.

The two sides have agreed in principle to have follow-up discussions at various levels to step up trade, intensify industrial collaboration and make a bold bid to develop their technological skills through joint programmes both in the civil and defence spheres. The Mitterrand visit has helped not only to elevate the level of the dialogue but also open the way for positive steps in specific fields to carry forward this cooperation.

The French President spoke eloquently about both the international and bilateral aspects of Indo-French relations in his address to members of Parliament this afternoon. And he dealt with the same themes at greater length and depth at an hour-long press conference.

CSO: 4600/1425

INDIA

INDIAN DELEGATE ADDRESSES UNGA ON PALESTINE QUESTION

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Dec 82 p 5

[Text] U.N.H.Q., Dec. 3.--India has welcomed the recent West Asia peace efforts at the Arab Fez Summit as "a starting point" for negotiations within the framework of the U.N. for a comprehensive settlement that would also secure the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, reports PTI.

Addressing the General Assembly yesterday in the resumed debate on the questions of Palestine, the Indian delegate, Mr P. M. Sayeed, noted that the Arab leaders, including the PLO chairman Mr Yasser Arafat, had reviewed the situation in a statesman-like spirit and evolved the Fez charter, which, if implemented, could lead to a lasting and just peace in West Asia.

Mr Sayeed said other world leaders had made efforts to promote a comprehensive solution. "We see in these efforts a starting point for negotiations within the framework of the U.N. that should pave the way for a universally-acceptable comprehensive settlement, particularly since all of them recognize that the uprooted people of Palestine should secure their legitimate rights" he added.

Deploring the continuing defiance by Israel of U.S. resolutions, Mr Sayeed said the invasion of Lebanon and the attempts at a Palestinian genocide added yet another chapter to Israeli's long history of "misdeeds".

Israel's responsibility for the gruesome massacres of Palestinians in the Sahtila and Sabra camps in Beirut had been exposed by the legal machinery in Israel itself. More recently, there were reports about the coercive politicization of academics in the occupied territories by forcing them to sign political declarations under duress.

In reiterating India's support to the Palestinian cause, Mr Sayeed said his country's sympathy for the people of Palestine in their suffering and its support for the establishment of a Palestinian State was rooted in its awareness of the historic, territorial and national identity of the Palestinians.

CSO: 4600/1439

INDIA

PROGRESS IN INDO-LIBYAN ECONOMIC COOPERATION TOLD

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 30 Nov 82 p 7

[Text] Tripoli, Nov 29 (PTI)--Indo-Libyan economic cooperation has made rapid strides in the field of projects exports in last five years with the cumulative total of the project contracts secured by Indian companies, both the public and private sectors, estimated to cross two billion dollars.

In an interview to PTI here, Indian Ambassador A G Asrani, noted that Indian companies in Libya, unlike in other West Asian and North African countries, had obtained contracts even in several sophisticated fields like construction of airports, power stations, erection of transmission lines, consultancy services for steel and cement plants, telecommunications and management of industries.

The Indian companies, Mr Asrani said, had also done exceedingly well in getting the contracts in the fields of civil construction like housing, schools, hospitals and roads.

The textile mill by the Star Trading Company, the airport at Ghadames by the International Airport Authority of India, laying of transmission lines towers by Kamani Engineering Corporation, roads at Zletian by the Indian Road Construction Corporation are some of the projects undertaken by India in this socialist country located in North Africa directly to the south of the Underbelly of Europe across the Mediterranean Sea.

Projects in the pipeline this year run into millions of dollars. They include construction of building and cement plants by the Projects and Equipment Corporation of India; township, railway station and hotels by the National Buildings Construction Corporation and vegetable oil mills by Tata Exports.

Discussing the success achieved by Indian companies despite odds, the ambassador said it was a matter of prestige for India that the Dasturs had been able to become consultants for the Libya Secretariat of Heavy Industries for construction of their first major steel plant at Misurata.

While the construction of this steel plant belongs to Japan, West Germany, Austria and Italy and others, the consultancy was offered to the Dasturs.

Representatives of some of the Indian companies here say their main competitors in the sector of projects have mainly been West Germany, Italy, East European countries, Turkey, Cuba and South Korea.

CSO: 4600/1426

INDIA

TRADE WITH CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ROMANIA TO BE EXPANDED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Dec 82 p 10

[Text] India has concluded trade protocols for 1988 with Romania and Czechoslovakia providing for a total trade turnover of Rs 6,992 million, reports UNI.

Both the protocols were signed recently by Mr S K Sarkar, joint secretary in the Commerce Ministry, at Bucharest and Prague respectively.

The Indo-Romanian trade protocol for 1983 provides for a trade turnover of Rs 3,130 million against 1982 provision of Rs 2,620 million, representing a growth of 19 per cent.

The major exports from India to Romania are minerals and ores Rs 745 million, agricultural products and plantations Rs 245 million, leather and textiles Rs 262.50 millions, engineering goods Rs 205 million and chemicals and allied products Rs 101 million.

India's major imports from Romania are oil prospecting and drilling equipment Rs 150 million, capital goods Rs 120 millions, rolled steel products Rs 185 million, fertilisers Rs 220 million and cement Rs 95 million, besides other engineering goods.

New items introduced in Indian exports are processed food, graphite electrodes, cosmetics, spectacle frames, knitting machines and air compressors.

The Indo-Czechoslovakia protocol for 1983 provides for a trade turnover of Rs 3862 million against 1982 provision of Rs 3,390 million representing a growth rate of 14 per cent. Major exports from India include agricultural products and plantation Rs 787 million, engineering goods Rs 269 million, textiles Rs 445 million, minerals and ores Rs 261 million, chemicals and allied products Rs 79 million. New items of manufactured products provided for Rs 48 million.

Exports from Czechoslovakia at Rs 1,868 million representing 16 per cent growth and consist mostly of machinery and capital goods, and manufactured products like fertilisers, newsprint and steel and electronic goods.

CSO: 4600/1441

OUTCOME OF HUNGARIAN DELEGATION'S VISIT NOTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Dec 82 p 6

[Text]

NEW DELHI.

Indo-Hungarian trade and collaboration in industrial sector are expected to be stepped up as a result of the talks which a visiting Hungarian delegation had with Indian industrialists and businessmen in Delhi, Bombay and Bangalore.

A joint statement issued after the talks between the delegation and the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (FICCI) here on Friday said the Indo-Hungarian collaboration would cover not only joint ventures in India and Hungary but also in third countries.

Iran, Iraq, Kuwait, Nigeria and a number of other countries were listed for this purpose. The areas identified included: machine tools, hospital and medical equipment, power generating and distribution systems; softwear for micro computers, Hi-Fi stereo systems, telecom instrument for rural communication; seamless steel tubes and high pressure cylinders and castings and forgings.

The Hungarian trade delegation evinced interest in collaboration in a number of areas, included in the Prime Minister's 20 point programme.

During its talks with the FICCI and the Federation of Indian Export Organisation (FIEO), the visiting delegation, led by Dr. Gyorgy Oblath, has offered to collaborate in development of energetics by transfer of energy-saving technologies, promotion of small-scale industries, rural drinking water supply, construction of low-cost houses and food processing.

The talks were held against the background of the balance of trade being in favour of Hungary and the Hungarian delegation expressed its eagerness to step up imports from India, despite the present economic situation forcing them to economise on imports.

**Accent on non-traditional items**

Though the two-way trade has risen substantially, the imports from Hungary have been twice the value of exports to Hungary. In order to step-up exports, Indian businessmen have

diversified from traditional to non-traditional products.

According to FIEO President, Mr. Bhai Mohan Singh, over 50 per cent of India's export consisted of products like cosmetics, readymade garments, knitwears, tennis rackets, finished leather, radio and tape recorders. Recently air compressors, machinery for chemical industry and a few electronic components have been exported. Leather jackets, machine tools, bulbs and lamps component, gaskets, shoe uppers, spices and writing materials have prospects of being exported to Hungary.

Dr. Oblath felt that India and Hungary should enter into third countries. For instance Hungary and Kuwait had entered into joint tendering for establishing a salt factory in Kuwait whose construction work was given to India. Likewise Hungary and India could collaborate in the field of energy conservation which would save oil consumption of 1.5 million tonnes during the five year period of 1980 to 1985. He also expressed Hungary's readiness to help the Indian exports for import of technical knowhow for food industry.

**Fruit processing**

Dr. Oblath said at his meeting with FICCI that Hungary could cooperate in the processing of fruits and vegetables for exports to third countries, joint production of carnation flowers and maize for exports and joint research in the growing of vegetables. The widening of the production cooperation would increase the rate of employment, as well as the development of the small-scale industries, a field in which the Hungarian small and medium-scale enterprises and industrial cooperatives had great experience and supply abilities. In this context he drew attention to the fact that Hungary had become a member of the World Bank and said the Hungarian suppliers could be considered for Indian projects financed by World Bank.

CSO: 4600/1445

INDO-FRG COOPERATION COMMISSION MEETS IN BONN

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Dec 82 p 8

[Text]

BONN, Dec 7 (PTI). INDIA and West Germany have identified a wide area of common interest in trade exchange and industrial collaboration.

At the end of the fourth session of the Indo-German Commission on Industrial and Economic Cooperation held here over the week-end, it was officially stated that the two sides saw 'substantial scope' for cooperation such as tie-ups in medium and small enterprises, coal sector, technology and third country cooperation.

Discussions also focussed on possibilities of collaboration in major industrial projects to be undertaken by the Indian Government, e.g., aviation, telecommunication, ship-building, petrochemicals and other areas.

The Indian delegation was led by Mr S V S Juneja, Additional Secretary of Economic Affairs Ministry of Finance, and the German delegation was by Mrs Helga Steeg, Head of the Foreign

Economic Policy in Bonn. New Indian ambassador to FRG R D Sathe participated.

The commission discussed the role of institutions in both countries representing industries and chambers of commerce towards creating closer links. The organising of an investment conference during Hanover Fair 1983 and participa-

tion by India on an extensive scale in Hanover Fair 1984 as the 'partner country' were seen as particularly important promotion measures in the field of industrial cooperation.

The two sides also exchanged their perception of global economic trends and development questions. They agreed that a drift in the direction of protectionism was a serious threat as it would adversely affect international trade. The next meeting of the commission would take place in New Delhi in early 1984.

CSO: 4600/1453

## INDO-JAPANESE COOPERATION COMMITTEE MEETS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Dec 82 p 7

[Text]

Indian and Japanese business leaders on Tuesday emphasised the need to give the right impetus to expand Indo-Japanese trade, reports PTI.

Addressing the fifteenth joint meeting of the Indo-Japan Business Cooperation Committees, leader of the Japanese delegation, and president of Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry Dr Shigeo Nagano, said that bilateral economic relations had shown substantial progress.

The two-way trade last year grew by more than 10 per cent over the previous year, and had already exceeded 1.9 billion dollar in the first nine months of this year, he said. 'Yet, we should not remain content with these results when we consider the scale of our economies,' he urged.

Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry and leader of the Indian delegation G K Devarajulu referred to the more or less 'static' pattern of trade between the two countries and told the Japanese that Indian industry could offer goods to Japanese specifications in some of the lines of manufacture.

Mr Nagano said that on development projects, mutual benefits could be derived with Japanese financial and technological co-operation. The cooperative relations had been expanding with the Japanese involvement in the Maruti car project and the progress in discussions about Anaspara-B and the modernisation of

the Durgapur integrated steel mill.

Mr Nagano lauded India's smooth economic development amid world wide recession and its recent liberalisation of policies which, he said, had been attracting much attention in Japan and other countries.

Mr Devarajulu said raw materials like iron ore and marine products still formed two-thirds of the total exports of India to Japan and there was need to diversify the trade. The Indian side, after the last meeting had constituted a task force for six items — marine products, engineering components, castings and forgings, garments, tourism and 100 per cent export units, he said.

Mr Devarajulu called for identification of specific areas for Japanese investment in India, besides technology transfer and said Japanese enterprises should take advantage of the 100 per cent export-oriented scheme. They could import products from India and also export to third countries like the Middle East, East Europe and South Asia by producing goods with Indian labour and technical skills.

There was also scope for Japanese cooperation in new enterprises in India as well as for in modernisation of existing industries with Japanese capital and technology. Foreign collaboration this year had already exceeded 297 against the total of 390 in 1981 pointing to the progress in the economy, he said.

CSO: 4600/1453

## ANALYST NOTES LONG-TERM EFFECTS OF ASIAD

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] **T**HE Asiad ended on Saturday with well deserved acclamation for the magnificent arrangements. The country has spent a fortune on organising these games, but it has also acquired a first-rate infrastructure that could be put to better use in future. What really matters is that at least for a few fleeting weeks it has had a tonic effect on the morale of the people who have followed this extravaganza with understandable pride.

The avoidable extravagance, no doubt, has been criticised even by some of those who have been closely associated with the Asiad, without in any way minimising the stupendous tasks involved in hosting these games on such a grand scale and at relatively short notice. But the critics also concede that the money spent is well worth the effort if, in proving to the world that what other countries can do India too can do, the right lessons have been learnt from this rewarding experience. In the history of the nation, a few hundred crores of rupees spent prudently or squandered thoughtlessly would not make much difference in the long run, so long as the country is able to acquire an extra edge of self-confidence.

**Field test for Rajiv**

At the higher political level, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, took a personal interest in the success of the Asiad, treating this as a challenge to the organising capacity of her government. As a token of her direct involvement in it, she put her son in over-all charge of the arrangements and allowed her name to be used for getting over the bureaucratic bottlenecks and keeping up the construction schedules.

For Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, it was also a field test of his ability to get the job done in good time, without treading on the toes of too many people. He worked quietly behind the scenes at the head of a high-power committee, meeting almost daily to monitor the progress and taking decisions on the spot to adhere to the deadline.

The Prime Minister utilised the Asiad as a public relations exercise to reach as far as

China, Korea and Japan to Iraq, Iran and Pakistan. She made it a point to visit the various stadia, meet the participants and pose before cameras with them. What the Chinese had done with their ping pong diplomacy, she was able to do with equal felicity at the Asiad, shaking hands and smiling her way through these games amidst her other preoccupations.

She took a lively interest in the living arrangements and cultural programmes at the Asiad village, so that everything possible was done to make the guest teams comfortable and ensure that they got some vivid impressions of India's heritage. The 5,000-odd participants and other foreign visitors associated with the Asiad have gone back with happy memories of her frequent encounters with them.

**Undue favours**

But there was also the seamier side of the Asiad that came in for adverse comments from many people. The colossal wastage of funds involved in any such crash construction programme led to widespread corruption, besides misuse of political patronage and personal aggrandisement. A lot of wheeler-dealers with the right connections managed to worm their way into the inner circles and throw their weight around in dispensing favours and helping themselves.

It is not so much the generous allocations for the construction of new stadia and renovation of the old ones as the reckless utilisation of public finances to help influential private builders to put up five-star hotels that came in for widespread criticism. The charges levelled of widespread malpractices were found to be grossly exaggerated in some cases, but there was enough evidence of undue favours shown in other cases enabling a few lucky individuals to make millions almost overnight.

**Odious aspect**

The top leaders are not unaware of this odious aspect although they refuse to admit it. In giving them the benefit of doubt that such infractions are inevitable in a democratic

society when a country embarks on a construction task of this magnitude, the critics are drawing attention to the evils of permissiveness and vulgarities of five-star culture creeping into national life.

Today it is Asiad and tomorrow it is something else, but the show goes on for the lucky few who are privileged to derive personal benefit from anything that comes their way, so the refrain runs as part of the chorus of criticism initiated by those left out of this money-making race. It is part of a deeper malaise that cannot be eradicated in any selective sphere without a more determined effort at the political level to stamp out the evil of corruption.

#### Senseless curbs

The Asiad also has helped to highlight the colour TV policy muddle, the incongruity between allowing free imports of gift sets at concessional duty and persisting at the same time in the monstrosity of imposing a penal duty of 320 per cent on normal imports. It has also brought out eloquently the basic contradiction between a government spending hundreds of crores of rupees on a prestige event like the Asiad and denying the public the simple joy of watching the event on TV sets purchased at reasonable prices.

The penal rate of customs duty, clamped down by an unimaginative Finance Minister, has not helped to curb the conspicuous consumption of this prestige item, but only led to further smuggling and fudging of invoices to keep the duty down. It resulted in penalising the honest citizen, while letting the anti-social elements thrive on these senseless restrictions.

In Delhi's merry-go-round, the fortnight-long excitement over the Asiad is only a passing episode. The high euphoria generated by this event already has started yielding place to other things in the quick-moving, kaleidoscopic drama of what social scientists call the procession of power and patronage. The Asiad has been a very special landmark in the recent history of the nation in the sense that it has led to illusions of grandeur, as though a hard-pressed government unable to fulfil its promises and live up to public expectations can sustain faith by staging splendid extravaganzas of this kind that can be a matter of pride for the entire nation.

The leadership has to guard itself against the temptation to over-do this act by offering to host more international events than necessary in the normal course. A competitive indulgence in these prestigious pursuits could lead to a counter-productive distraction from more pressing domestic problems.

#### Virtual police State

The Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka elections will keep the Central leadership preoccupied for the next one month, before the turnstile starts moving again. The non-aligned summit is round the corner and the preparatory work is in full swing, posing formidable security problems. The people have taken the irksome restrictions imposed in the wake of the Akali threat to extend the agitation to Delhi during the Asiad in their stride, without complaining

too much about the inconvenience. But during the non-aligned summit, it is going to be a much more annoying experience with whole sectors of the capital cordoned off to the public impeding normal movement. A few months thereafter it will be the Commonwealth conference requiring equal stringent precautions.

A disquieting feature of all this hustle and bustle in Delhi is that security has been transformed into a major activity within the Government. There are hundreds and hundreds of plain-clothesmen involved in the act of protecting the top leaders, combining the ceremonial aspects with the real task of coping with unexpected threats. It has been carried to ridiculous limits during the Asiad transforming Delhi into a virtual police State. It is going to be much worse at the time of the non-aligned summit, unless some one at the higher levels steps in to restrain the over-zealous officials in charge of security from making a parody of it.

In these days of flying diplomacy, it is necessary for a head of government to receive as many foreign visitors as possible, and also visit as many countries as one possibly can, to keep up the tempo of personal contacts in the conduct of foreign relations.

After Mrs. Gandhi's return to power, as many as 49 heads of State and Government and Foreign Ministers have visited Delhi, while she has been to 21 countries and is due to go to another six in the not too distant future. A good many foreign dignitaries have come to regard a visit to India, and a meeting with Mrs. Gandhi, as a sort of status symbol in their respective areas, so much so that the Indian missions abroad had to be instructed not to encourage any requests until next summer at least.

But the compulsions of the non-aligned summit are helping to infuse a better sense of priorities in the country's foreign policy pursuits. In recent weeks India has been paying greater attention to the improvement of relations with neighbouring countries like Bangladesh and Pakistan. A credible distinction is also being kept up between the country's national policies and its obligations as the next chairman to strive for the widest possible consensus on all major issues, a consensus that is based not merely on majority opinion but also the willingness of the majority to acquiesce in it in the larger interests of non-alignment.

#### Middle course

There is a growing realisation that India can make its influence felt by steering a middle course on most issues without taking up extreme positions. The accent is on avoiding as far as possible undue identification with the policies of any big power, either by condemning or acting as an apologist of their actions. Almost every day at the Asiad there were developments which would have been allowed to acquire political overtones in the past, but the organisers were left free to deal with each such issue on merits without governmental interference.

The most important aspect of India's foreign policy over the years has been that, it has not always been infallible. It can justifiably claim that it has infinitely more to be proud of than be ashamed of.

The conclusion of the *Asiad* also coincided with the world premiere of the Gandhi film in Delhi. It came as an eloquent reminder to the ruling elite here that the Mahatma's unrelenting emphasis on means as much as ends is valid today as it was during the freedom struggle. It is time that those in authority did some honest heart-searching to realise where the country has gone wrong or how it strayed away from the chosen path in its quest for fulfilment.

It is a rewarding experience to watch the Indian drama from a ringside seat with a mixed-feeling of detachment and involvement. If one cannot be too oblivious to what is happening inside the arena, it is at least possible to resist the temptation of getting absorbed and assimilated into it. And there is need for more and more men and women with the necessary sensitivities to be prepared to remain aloof if only to draw attention to the limits of power in these days of disillusion and diminution.

CSO: 4600/1445

DIRECTION OF TRADE WITH BRITAIN TERMED 'UNCLEAR'

Madras THE HINDU in English 24 Nov 82 p 8

[Editorial]

[Text] OVER THE PAST few years there has been an almost continuous dialogue between Britain and India on increasing economic and commercial cooperation. This has been conducted at various levels — between the Prime Ministers of the two countries, Commerce Ministers, diplomats and delegations of manufacturers, bankers and traders. The proposals on a British turnkey project for a massive integrated steel plant could not be developed because of the unsound premise on which the entire deal was sought to be struck, although the possibility of it coming up in a different form is still there. Arrangements for the import and manufacture of Jaguar aircraft for the Indian Air Force have been halted midway because of the interest in procuring more sophisticated combat planes. These two setbacks have not, however, damped the enthusiasm for pursuing bilateral endeavour in other areas. One significant advantage for India in using Britain's official developmental aid is that since 1975 it is all in the form of grants, without any liability to pay interest or the principal amount. An important recent agreement was on grants and export credit guarantees for a super thermal power station at Rihand in Uttar Pradesh.

Indo-British trade rose from £ 179 millions in 1970 to £ 845 millions in 1980. For six years India had a favourable balance, but the pattern has been adverse since 1978. In 1981, for instance, Indian imports of British goods were valued at Rs. 825 crores while exports were worth Rs. 428 crores. The drop was noticed in many items — tea, leather, tobacco and cotton textiles. No scheme has been worked out which will increase British purchases from India. The leader of a 19-member delegation visiting South India has remarked that the investment climate is favourable. Between 1957 and 1981 — a quarter century — British firms accounted for nearly a fourth of the 6,600 foreign collaboration agreements. Given the continuance of the liberalisation of policies by New Delhi, the scope for more such agreements is obvious. The directions of development are, however, not very clear. There is a great deal of confused thinking — witness the suggestion thrown up by the Indian side at the Madras meeting to the effect that efforts be made to transfer production facilities that are being closed down in Britain. Such moves are short-sighted.

CSO: 4600/1412

## DELEGATION LEADER REPORTS ON VISIT TO PAKISTAN

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 25 Nov 82 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, November 24.

WHILE the level of Indo-Pakistani trade will be determined largely by the quality of their bilateral relations, a 22-member business delegation from India has found positive evidence of a strong desire in Pakistan to expand and diversify economic relations with this country.

The delegation, sponsored by the Punjab, Haryana and Delhi chambers of commerce and industry — the first private sector delegation to Pakistan in two decades — was also impressed by the hospitality showered on them by their Pakistani hosts.

Mr. V. P. Punj, leader of the delegation, told newsmen in New Delhi today that their ten-day visit to Pakistan was very timely in view of the goodwill generated by President Zia's recent stop-over in Delhi.

The delegation had free and frank talks with chambers of commerce in several Pakistani cities like Lahore, Karachi, Sialkot, Gujranwala, Faisalabad and Islamabad. It also met government representatives, including the trade adviser to the Pakistan President.

Mr. Punj said that no restrictions were imposed on their movements and they were able to visit whatever places they liked. However, they found a wide communication gap between India and Pakistan and felt that the business community in Pakistan was unaware of the trading conditions in India.

Besides exchanges on general trade issues, the two sides tried to tackle

certain specific items. The Indian delegation, for instance, proposed the opening of trade centres to be managed by the private sector in each other's country.

Under the memoranda of understanding signed by them in Lahore and Karachi, joint standing committee would be set up to identify specific areas of co-operation in trade and industry. The standing committee members from Lahore would visit India in January, while an Indian delegation would go to Lahore in April.

The two sides discussed the possibility of transfer of adapted technology. In some areas like textiles, Mr. Punj said, Pakistan had better technology than India.

The possibility of joint marketing of products like carpets and basmati rice was discussed. Pakistan has already decided to allow import of 40 items from India on private account. The Indian delegation favoured a major expansion of this list.

Another specific recommendation made by India related to issue of free visas for businessmen and opening of the Wagah border in Punjab for trade.

The question of wheat imports from Pakistan — which is surplus in the commodity — was also raised. But no decision could be reached.

Mr. Punj and other delegates admitted that though the scope for greater economic co-operation between India and Pakistan was there, the actual exchanges would depend on the nature of their bilateral relations.

CSO: 4600/1414

LARGE GROUP OF BANGLADESHIS SENT HOME FROM CALCUTTA

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Nov 82 p 7

[Text]

CALCUTTA, Nov. 26.

Border Security Force personnel a few days ago pushed back about 400 Bangladeshis who were living near Dum Dum, a north-eastern suburb of Calcutta. To date this is the largest single group of people from Bangladesh to be detected and sent back.

The detection itself was the work of the State Police. Police spokesmen said here today that the group comprised mostly very poor Muslims. It seemed they were looking for work, but the local employment situation, especially with the continuance of the drought, had worsened considerably.

In normal times, such illegal entrants do not penetrate thus far, near Calcutta, but choose to work in the paddy fields close to the Bangladesh border, usually for a lower wage than that prevailing locally.

Now the drought seems to have introduced fresh complications. Thus, these people were in great distress, because the economic situation here, while not as grim as in Bangladesh, was far from comfortable. Most had no shelter.

Several Bangladeshis have been found without valid travel documents in Bombay and rounded up.

**Smuggling across border:** Despite sporadic reports of rice smuggling to Bangladesh, police authorities here do not believe there is much traffic either way. One reason is rice has grown dearer here, with the price of average varieties touching nearly Rs. 4 a kilogram. On the other side of the border, the price ranges from 8 to 8 takas a kilo. This does not leave enough margin for profiteers, in view of the relative weakness of the taka vis-a-vis the rupee.

CSO: 4600/1422

## REPORT ALLEGES U.S. SABOTAGE THROUGH DRUGS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Nov 82 p 2

[Article by V. D. Chopra]

[Text]

**W**ITH the announcement of the Election Commission that elections to the State Assemblies of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tripura would be held simultaneously on 5 January, Indian politics are back again to square one. Thus parliamentary politics will again dominate the scene and long-term policy projections will recede into the background. As far as Andhra Pradesh is concerned, both the CPI and CPI(M) seem to be busy, building a 'third front' and are trying to enter into electoral alliance with Telugu Desam — a newly born regional party with its main focus on regionalism. Andhra Pradesh has been a stronghold of the communist movement and it was a split in the movement, which gave it a major setback. The results of these elections naturally will have far reaching impact on the policies of the two Communist parties, both in regard to their mutual relationship and in relation to the national mainstream. This means that for months to come, the election strategy of the various political forces would influence their overall national policies.

In recent weeks certain other ominous developments have taken place, which cannot be dismissed lightly. On the entire western borders of our country, beginning with Jammu and Kashmir at the one end and ending with Fazilka-Abohar areas at

the other, revivalist, secessionist and communal forces have become suddenly more active than ever. It is a strange irony that it is in the midst of this situation, some American diplomats have started visiting these areas. Obviously, their trips have nothing to do with their diplomatic work. There must be other reasons for their anxiety to 'understand' and 'study' the political developments say in Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir.

It is well known in the political circles of Chandigarh that a senior diplomat from the American embassy frequently visits this ultra modern capital. He in fact has been calling on some senior journalists 'to get' first hand information about the Akali agitation. And now reports have appeared in the press that one Mr Schmidt, military attache at the US embassy in Delhi was seen near Srinagar in the company of some extremist leaders. It was again not long ago that Harry Barnes, US Ambassador in New Delhi, visited Jammu and Kashmir and is believed to have met, among others, leaders of separatism.

This, however, is not the end of the whole story. It has been openly alleged by a news agency that a Pan-American flight brought to Delhi four Indian extremist leaders, who have taken Canadian citizenship. There must be something more than what appears on the surface. But one

thing is obvious that as the momentum of the separatist and secessionist forces grows, in the same proportion certain foreign countries have become active through their diplomats. Obviously, they are in a hurry.

This new spurt of activity on our western borders and the manner in which certain foreign diplomats are showing keen interest in the activities of these anti-national forces perhaps has another angle also.

In America, politics are business and business is politics. Both go together. This synthesis between politics and business does influence the diplomacy of Washington. And perhaps India now is becoming a victim of this alloy of politics and business, though on the face of it, it may look an exaggeration of certain facts. But the facts, though cold, do sometimes reveal a particular trend.

It is, for instance, now widely admitted even in the western press that drug trade is the second biggest American business after the oil giant — Exxon — bigger than even General Motors or Mobil. So testified France Mullen of the Drug Enforcement Administration before a State Committee on the issue. By 1982, according to *Sunday Times*, the annual turnover of the drug trade had reached 79 billion dollars. "Seventy per cent of the opium captured by US authorities this year originated from

the 'Golden Crescent' said Richard F Prost, US Consulate-General in Karachi, according to a London based weekly. Significantly, the 'Golden Crescent' is the area where the borders of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan meet. But that is not the whole story. There is a close tie-up between American and Pakistani 'wheeler-dealers' in opium trade. There are reports that even the high-ups in Pakistan are involved in this racket. The North-West Frontier Province Governor, Lt General Fazle Haq, and most of the ruling generals and their close civilian advisers are all heavily involved, frequently being seen in the company of internationally known 'businessmen' and finance racketeers.

What is the role of the CIA in this?

Alfred McCoy has explained in the "Politics of Heroin in South-East Asia" that without the CIA's planes and helicopters smuggling in this region would have been impossible. There was simply no other form of air transport available in Laos. In turn, the CIA transported opium to the US in the form of heroin, with the usual devastating effects. Again, in 1970, the US Bureau of Narcotics and Dangerous Drugs reported that 70 per cent of the ocean of heroin then washing across Europe and America had originated in the

Golden Triangle, controlled by the CIA's mercenary opium armies.

After the Iranian revolution and consolidation of democratic regime in Afghanistan, growing and smuggling of opium in these two countries has become impossible.

Pakistan today has become the main producer of opium. In 1980, its production of opium was 105 metric tons and it increased to 126 in 1982. These smugglers of opium now need another outlet and it is true that India fits in. India's western borders are open and from these borders smuggling has been going on in the past too — a fact known to the Indian authorities. In fact, opium and its refined products, morphine and heroin, have already created market for themselves on this side of the Indo-Pak border. A regular flow of this trade demands unstable political conditions. Maybe apart from political considerations and geo-political factors, trade in opium is another compelling reason for destabilising the western border areas of India.

It is also known in Chandigarh political circles that some of the extremist leaders of Punjab and their moral supporters among the former retired civil servants had always kept a close liaison with the smugglers. And there

are reasons to believe that enormous funds are made available to the extremists through smugglers. However, this is another angle from which the goings-on on our western borders need to be examined.

The moral of the story is that international dealers of opium are desperately in need of a new transit route for their dirty trade and unstable political conditions on the border areas would create fertile soil for them. This is what their experience has been. When the liberation forces of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea were engaged in their life-and-death struggle, the CIA and its outfit of smugglers were engaged in this dirty trade under the cover of fighting the 'red hordes'. The same tragic drama is being enacted in Afghanistan and now perhaps, they have chosen India for this 'operation'.

Whatever may be the other political compulsions of the Left and democratic forces outside the Congress(I), they cannot ignore the fact that Washington has worked out a neat strategy in all fields — political, economic, psychological to destabilise India. And parochial and secessionist forces are playing their game. This aspect needs a careful examination and should not be forgotten in the forthcoming elections.

CSO: 4600/1430

## IRAQ AGREES TO SUPPLY INDIA WITH 3.5 MILLION TONS CRUDE

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 28 Nov 82 p 1

[Text]

IRAQ has agreed to supply 3.5 million tonnes of crude oil to India for 1983, according to Petroleum Minister P. Shiv Shanker, reports UNI.

Mr. Shiv Shanker told UNI on Saturday in the Capital that a memorandum of understanding has been reached with Iraq recently to renew the present contract under which India imported 3.5 million tonnes for the current calendar year.

He said so far India had entered into arrangements with Iran, Iraq and Soviet Union for oil imports for the next year.

Iran has agreed to supply 3.3 million tonnes, and the Soviet Union 2.5 million tonnes. The Soviet Union will also supply 2.25 million tonnes of petroleum products for 1983.

Mr. Shiv Shanker said efforts were being made to gradually reduce oil imports to save valuable foreign exchange and ultimately reach self-sufficiency.

With this in view the indigenous production of crude by Oil and Natural Gas Commission and Oil India Limited was being fully geared up, he added.

The net import of crude oil and products has been reduced from 19.44 million tonnes in 1981-82 to 16.366 million tonnes saving a foreign exchange of 584 million dollars. The total value of

import has gone down from 5512 million dollars to 4928 million dollars.

Mr. Shiv Shanker said that the oil product imports would be further reduced from 16.76 million tonnes in 1983-84 to 15.58 million tonnes in 1984-85.

The Minister said oil production from Bombay high offshore fields the main source of meeting indigenous demand would be stepped up from 17 million tonnes in 1982-83 to 21 million tonnes in 1983-84.

The total contribution of the Oil India annually was about three million tonnes.

Besides importing, India has been exporting oil and oil products for the last one year for the purpose swapping the Bombay High crude.

In this manner, India has exported 84 lakh tonnes of crude and 50,000 tonnes of products were imported in 1981-82. The figures for the current year could be about six million tonnes and nearly eight lakh tonnes respectively. These exports helped India to reduce the oil imports to considerable extent.

The Bombay High crude is being swapped to import light crude oil and to maximise the product output.

CSO: 4600/1423

INDIA

VISIT OF INDIAN OIL TEAM TO IRAN REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Nov 82 p 8

[Text] Dubai, Nov 23 (UNI).

A high-level Indian delegation initiated discussions today with Iranian authorities in Teheran on renewing the oil supplies contract.

The delegation, led by Petroleum Ministry Secretary Lovraj Kumar, held talks with senior government officials. Reports reaching here indicate that discussions between the two countries would be successful.

The eight-member delegation, which includes Indian Oil Corporation chairman A J A Tauro, Engineers India Limited (EIL) chairman and managing director V K Beri and senior ONGC and External Affairs Ministry officials reached Teheran last night. It would return home after three days.

Mr Lovraj Kumar told UNI during a stopover here last evening that it was time for India to renew its oil supplies contracts. In this connection the first round of formal discussions was being held with Iran, one of India's traditional suppliers. Preliminary discussions had also been held with some other countries. Arrangements for the period 1983-84 would soon be finalised.

India has at present a 19-month contract with Iran, expiring in July, for about four million tonne oil supply. But it wants to renew the deal right now so that the estimated gap in the import requirements and domestic consumption can be filled. India has so far imported from Iran this year 3.2 million tonnes of oil. Iran is reportedly giving a discount of three dollars over the official OPEC benchmark price of \$34 a barrel to all customers.

Mr Kumar said that similar delegations were expected to go in the near future to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and some other oil producing countries.

Mr Lovraj Kumar told a Dubai daily that the import of petroleum products by India this year was rated at four to five million tonnes and estimates were being worked out for the next year, adds PTI.

India's crude production was expected to touch 21 million tonnes by the end of the year and the country plans to intensify tapping of oilfields to narrow the import gap in 1983.

Mr Kumar told the daily that the present production from Bombay High was 12 to 13 million tonnes and was expected to go up to 16.5 million tonnes in 1983. The output from the troubled Assam was around 5.3 million tonnes and from Gujarat four million tonnes.

The Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC) has outlined a five-year four billion dollars plan which, if implemented, would raise the output of petroleum to 30 million tonnes by 1984-85.

With the increased output, the commission hopes to meet almost two-thirds of India's demand of 43 million tonnes in 1984-85.

Referring to the prospective Godavari structures, Mr Kumar said two ONGC rigs were currently involved in the drilling. Only certain blocks, which are at about 200 metres depth in Godavari waters, will be considered for leasing out to multinational firms.

He also stated that foreign companies were expected to file their bids for the second round by January for leasing various oil sites in India.

The Chevron Company has completed its seismic survey in the Saurashtra off-shore block number two, and Mr Kumar hoped that drilling would commence early next year.

CSO: 4600/1413

## PRESS REPORTS, COMMENTS ON GATT CONFERENCE

## Patil Speech

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 26 Nov 82 p 23

[Text] GENEVA, November 25 (UNI).

THE commerce minister, Mr. Shivraj Patil, yesterday urged ministers from 88 nations attending the ministerial meeting of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) here, to strive towards making the GATT system more effective and committed to serving the interests of developing countries.

Any erosion in the effectiveness of GATT as a multilateral trading system was bound to adversely affect the interests of all nations, particularly the weaker trading nations, Mr. Patil said.

He was addressing the opening session of three-day ministerial meeting of countries accounting for more than 80 per cent of world trade.

Mr. Patil said it was the comparatively more liberal trade policies of developing countries which provided expanded markets with products from the developed world. But now they were being faced with problems of declining terms of trade, sharply increasing current account deficits and the increasing burden of servicing their debts.

All these have resulted in a sharp fall in their purchasing power, seriously constraining their economic growth and development, he said.

## GREAT IMPLICATIONS

"If the situation of developing countries continues to deteriorate further, it will have great implications on world economy, since in recent years

it has been the dynamism of developing countries that helped world economy avoid a greater catastrophe," Mr. Patil said.

Mr. Patil said developing countries were suffering from the consequences of inflation, unemployment, declining productivity and other problems in industrialised countries which were largely induced by their own policies.

He said the international trading system had survived during the past 25 years because it was built on the basis of certain multilateral institutions and GATT was one of the important pillars of the system.

He urged the meeting to ensure that the agreements were made more meaningful for a large number of contracting parties of GATT and that the unity, consistency and credibility of the GATT system was preserved during their implementation.

He cited safeguards and the dispute settlement mechanism as some of the areas left incomplete at the end of the negotiations and said the completion of these should receive top priority in the coming months.

Opposing a U.S. proposal for a study of services in GATT, Mr. Patil said it was clearly beyond the competence and the present framework of GATT.

Mr. Patil suggested that the ministerial meeting should come out with a definite political statement "giving expression to our unambiguous condemnation of protectionism."

Mr. Patil suggested the meeting give a clear perspective for the future work of GATT. "The perspective must be (1) to accelerate development of developing countries, (2)

impetus to the recovery of world trade and (3) to help restructure the international economic system so that we make progress towards new international economic order.

AFP adds: France yesterday challenged America's "dogmatic liberalism" and sharply criticised Japan's "structural" trade surplus, highlighting sharp differences among major trading powers at the opening of the conference here yesterday.

The United States and Japan called for a firm commitment to free trade, a standstill on protectionist action and steps to bring existing trade restrictions under GATT control.

The European Economic Community (EEC) responded by stressing the need for a "realistic" approach as long as the world economy remained paralysed by recession and governments were faced with the implications of record unemployment.

The U.S. trade representative, Mr. Bill Brock, said protectionist action was bound to stop economic growth, the "only solution for recession."

His position was echoed by the Japanese foreign minister, Mr. Yoshio Sakuruchi, who triggered ironic comments and smiles in EEC delegates, when he assured that Japan's was "one of the most open markets in the world."

The West German economy minister, Mr. Otto Lambsdorff, regretted that the GATT ministerial meeting was not able to open a new round of overall tariff negotiations.

He said the main effort by the GATT ministers must be to eliminate the climate of uncertainty hanging over the world economy.

## Outcome Deemed Favorable

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Dec 82 p 9

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 2

The Indian delegation to the GATT Ministerial level-conference has come back with a

sense of satisfaction over the outcome of the meet and the role played by India.

According to official sources, the final declaration, reflecting a recognition by the international trading community of the adverse impact on developing countries of the prolonged global economic crisis is no insignificant achievement, considering the increasing stresses and strains to which the world trading system had been subjected over the past few years.

The Indian view is that the outcome of the Geneva meet was a "march forward" on various unfinished tasks of the Tokyo round.

**Unfinished tasks:** India had been insisting that the conference should devote itself first to the unfinished tasks of the Tokyo round before considering fresh proposals to enlarge the coverage of GATT and India has succeeded in this respect. The U.S. which was keen on bringing trading in services, high technology items and investment under the GATT was not allowed to have its way, except for a mention of the proposal for trade in services in the declaration. Even here, the declaration was worded carefully to avoid any link between the GATT and the proposal. The final decision was to recommend an examination of the issues.

India wanted a code on safeguards formulated without delay. The Geneva meet had agreed on the principles underlying the code and fixed a deadline for developing an understanding. According to the declaration, this would be done not later than the 1983 session.

**Offer of preferences:** Another gain, according to India, is the decision that the Committee on Trade and Development would have regular consultations with the GATT members and examine how they had responded to the needs of Part IV of the GATT, which committed the de-

veloped countries to assist developing countries as a matter of conscious and purposeful effort. The implication is that the developed countries would have to show positive evidence of offering preferences.

On the question of the dispute settlement mechanism, the declaration is considered satisfactory as it made clear that settlement by consensus would be without prejudice to the provision for decision by voting. The decision to set up a Committee on Agriculture to suggest greater liberalisation in trading of farm produce is considered another gain.

The Committee is required to report not later than the 1984 session. In regard to trading in textiles, modalities for liberalisation will be completed before the 1984 session. This is in line with the Indian position that at present the textile trade is under the multi-fibre arrangement (MFA) which is not in conformity with the GATT principles and this trade should also be brought under the GATT discipline.

**Softening protectionist trend:** As regards the general issue of protectionism, the inclusion in the declaration of a commitment by the GATT members to resist pressures and refrain from taking or maintaining any measure inconsistent with the GATT principles is regarded significant. The statement made on behalf of EEC on this aspect, after the declaration was adopted by consensus, was only by way of a clarification and did not amount to any reservation, according to the Indian delegation.

India, of course, does not expect spectacular results like end to protectionism, to flow from the declaration. It, however, hopes that the Geneva declaration would help stall any further protectionist measure and dilute the existing measures.

### Lessons for India

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Dec 82 p 5

[Article by Batuk Gathani]

[Text]

LONDON, Dec. 5:

The international trade talks under the auspices of GATT, at Geneva, have concluded after five days of intense negotiations, on preserving open trade system in the world, by adopting a face-saving formula, which prevented the summit from breaking up in disarray. The conference was an eye-opener, where the general tone of discussions was more about self-preservation, rather than looking at the broader and long-term trade and development perspectives.

The discussions were both intricate and often farcical among the EEC, the U.S. and the Third World. The final communique was a mere patch-up job since no major trading power wanted to be blamed for the ignominious collapse of the first GATT ministerial meet in nine years.

From the Indian viewpoint the lesson to be learnt is that despite the country's minuscule share in the world trade, the struggle for free

trade movement must go on at any cost. At the same time, the Indian Commerce and Industry must continuously try to improve manufactured products and articulate its marketing strategy, even to dodge the tariff and quota barriers, as the Japanese are doing so brilliantly. In the Eighties, the Japanese strategy is to establish investment and manufacturing bases in various European centres, to escape the quota and tariff barriers. For example, Sony of Japan is enjoying a substantial share of the British Video and colour TV market by setting up a local manufacturing plant in collaboration with British companies. In fact, Sony (U.K.) is the latest recipient of the much coveted Queen's export award — given to a British firm which has shown some original ingenuity in opening new export markets for the British manufactured products.

**No alternatives:** In the present depressed and chaotic state of the Indian manufacturing industry, all this may sound far-fetched but

there are no real alternatives to establishing a permanent bridgehead in the more lucrative world trading areas.

The Geneva Conference merely highlighted the profound differences between major trading blocks. Most delegations adopted unbending positions, and this tendency was perhaps far more pronounced among the more developed nations. There is obviously no political will to restore the rule of law to trade relations and halt the slide into trade protectionism and anarchy. Most countries are hopelessly inhibited by short-term prospects of rising unemployment and inflationary pressures, which could have disastrous political consequences for the governments in power. It is possible that if the present trend continues unchecked — and there is little hope to think the other way — there are prospects of rival trading blocs, with all the attendant dangers of trade wars, creating tensions and conflict between nations. This is already reflected in growing rightwing policies and isolationist tendencies in important developed countries like the U.S., West Germany and Britain.

It is, therefore, not surprising that many Third World countries have a rather ambivalent attitude towards GATT, which has no authority but lays down rules and guidelines of good behaviour. The developing countries account for about two-thirds of roughly 90 members. The developed countries — mainly Western bloc since COMECON (East European Communist States) live by their own rules — merely pay lip service to the open trade system. The Third World countries are desperately but hopelessly, trying to make GATT more responsive to their needs, with preferential treatment for their goods and promotion of their trading opportunities. But in this respect, because of total lack of unity and even articulateness on the part of most Third World delegations, their efforts are counter-productive and their cause looks lost by default. About half of such nations are not even GATT members.

**More protectionist:** In recent months in the wake of mounting unemployment in the EEC, now coming close to the 12-million mark, the community policies for farm goods and textiles have become more protectionist. The Third World nations have been, in principle, offered opportunities to export their primary products, including agricultural goods to richer markets, but such promises largely remain unfulfilled. The EEC countries have reported record wheat and sugar crops and this fact has depressed the world prices. The EEC wheat crop of 56-million tonnes has provoked a scramble for new markets, especially the lucrative Russian, where the EEC and the U.S. interests are in direct conflict. The EEC agricultural products are described as "surplus prone" — (record wheat, butter, sugar, barley, rice and beef production) — and are sold off on long term credit or barter terms to more developed East European communist countries.

The existence of surpluses also means that EEC is less likely to import Third World products now than in 1950s. The European farmers produce more, because they enjoy lucrative State subsidies and are not exposed to the ups and downs of world market prices. This is done

under the auspices of Common Agriculture Policy of the EEC which eats up as much as 68 per cent of the EEC's annual budget, leaving little for development aid, research or investment in new technology and at the same time severely crippling development prospects of agriculture exporting countries, mainly in Africa.

The crucial issue for the Third World nations like India, in the Eighties, will be to evolve a strategy to keep its head above water and evolve bilateral trading relationship, based on sheer self-interest with major trading blocs. This seems to be the message from the GATT conference.

**Trade war:** The most debated issue now is how and when the trade war first between the U.S. and the EEC, and between Japan and the rest of the Western world will commence in the next few months. Already the EEC Governments are bracing themselves for what may be the most serious trade conflict yet with the U.S. over farm produce and agricultural exports. They have made it clear to the U.S. that the Community is not prepared to modify its common agricultural policy. There are reports from Brussels that the European Commission has decided to approve the payment of subsidies on the sale of 50,000 tonnes of surplus butter to the Soviet Union. Moscow is also keen on a huge wheat deal. The subsidised exports of EEC butter, wheat and other agricultural products will be resumed to the Soviet Union, despite the ban imposed after the introduction of martial law in Poland.

The Europeans argue that they find it ironic to note that while President Reagan directs Western Europe not to abide by the terms and conditions of the pipeline contract, the American grain merchants are allowed to sell wheat worth millions of dollars to the Soviet Union. The Europeans, therefore, are not likely to let their butter and wheat surpluses "rot", while the Americans cash in on the Soviet deals.

Just how far the Europeans and the Americans will go in their trade war will become clearer when officials of the European Commission meet the U.S. Secretary of State, Mr. Shultz, in Brussels on Dec. 7. Senior EEC officials agree that Washington is bitterly disappointed at the outcome of the GATT meeting. It is also an open secret that the U.S. Agriculture Secretary, Mr. John Block's private warning — that the U.S. would match EEC "dollar for dollar" in financing the dumping of their food surpluses

The U.S. Congress has assembled for a post-election session in an ugly mood and the debate is dominated by the unemployment issue, with observers suggesting that America will take a significant turn towards protectionism. One Bill on the Congress floor seeks to curb imports of foreign cars by setting requirements for "domestic content" in such vehicles. The Japanese manufacturers, who today account for 25 per cent of the U.S. car market, will be required to use 90 per cent of American-made components by 1986. The European car and component manufacturers will also be seriously affected, if the Bill goes through.

The Bill is sponsored by the giant United Auto Workers Union, which claims that it will create 800,000 new jobs in the U.S. car industry.

"Menace from Asia": Meanwhile in Britain, factions of rightwing media are busy highlighting the future "economic menace from Asia" and one newspaper headline put it, "Will we be the coolies of the 21st Century?". The British correspondent, who has just returned from a visit to Asia's "Gang of Four" — Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong and Singapore — reports that the whole of Asia is

now alive and alert to the opportunity of taking control of the world's economy from the failing West. Japan has shown them the way.

There is a full page article in a British national daily. The Japanese are both feared and admired; and the rest of the Asians are almost despised for becoming more industrially articulate and working hard. The mood is certainly ugly and with such wild hate campaign whipped against exporting nations in Asia, politicians will be forced to legislate and bring down the tariff and quota barriers.

CSO: 4600/1438

INDIA

INDIAN DELEGATE SPEAKS IN UN POLITICAL COMMITTEE

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Dec 82 p 9

[Text] U.N.H.Q., Dec 1.--India has emphasized that the U.N. peacekeeping operations should be conducted with the consent of the host countries, reports UNI.

An Indian speaker told the U.N. Special Political Committee yesterday that his country attached "great importance" to the principle of obtaining the host State's consent in the matter.

Mr R. S. Rathore of the Indian Mission said such operations "must be carried out with due respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country concerned".

He was against extending the mandates of such operations routinely as happens "too often", without considering other means of resolving the disputes. Peace keeping cannot substitute peacemaking, he said. He added that India believed in the absence of general and agreed guidelines, it remained the sovereign decision of member State to support a particular U.N. peace-keeping operation.

Pakistan last week lauded the U.N. operations, including those in Kashmir, and said they deserved to be backed by States, specially major powers and "parties directly involved".

The committee yesterday approved without a vote, a draft resolution that would have the General Assembly reaffirm the mandate of the Special Committee on peace-keeping operations.

CSO: 4600/1432

INDIA

UN DELEGATE SPEAKS IN DEBATE ON DECOLONIZATION

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Nov 82 p 3

[Text] United Nations, Nov. 23 (UNI)--India has called for fighting "with renewed vigour" against colonialism and its new manifestations like Namibia and Palestine.

An Indian delegate yesterday complimented the United Nations for having helped many countries attain freedom, but warned that forces were still at work to "stem the tide of history".

Prof D P Chattopadhyaya, the Indian delegate, said during a General Assembly debate on decolonisation, that resting "on our laurels...is something which we cannot, in all conscience, afford to do."

The Assembly has before it two drafts--both co-sponsored by India, condemning "all collaboration, particularly in nuclear and military fields with South Africa".

The two drafts would have the Assembly ask the colonial powers to immediately withdraw their military bases from colonial territories and launch a multi-media campaign to publicise UN decolonisation efforts.

Prof Chatopadhyaya said it was a matter of "shame to most of us" that 16 years after being declared a trust of the UN Namibia was still in the illegal, oppressive control of racist Pretoria.

It was equally unfortunate that for the brave people of Palestine, the restitution of their homeland and establishment of a state, still remains only a dream he said.

Mr Chatopadhyaya said even though the Palestine question was not officially considered a de-colonisation issue by the UN "it cannot, we believe, be totally divorced from the colonial context".

"The struggle to rid the world of the last and dangerous volatile vestiges of colonialism and myriad manifestations of neo-colonialism must be waged with renewed vigour" he added.

CSO: 4600/1413

UN DELEGATE CALLS FOR POLITICAL SOLUTION IN AFGHANISTAN

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 25 Nov 82 p 10

[Text]

U.N. H.Q., Nov. 24.—India today renewed its call for a political solution to the Afghan problem based on a dialogue between the parties involved, reports PTI.

Such a political solution, the Indian delegate, Mr Kamal Nath (M.P.), told the U.N. General Assembly, should be based on three important elements. They are complete cessation of all interference and intervention in the internal affairs of States, opposition to the presence of foreign troops in any country and the furnishing of reliable and complete guarantees against all forms of interference.

Mr Kamal Nath noted that these elements were identified in the New Delhi declaration of non-aligned countries in 1981. The continued relevance of the consensus on South-west Asia adopted by the New Delhi meeting had been reaffirmed in the subsequent documents of the movement.

Mr Kamal Nath urged that the approach to the Afghanistan problem should look towards an eventual settlement, taking into account all factors relevant to the present situation, rather than pointing an accusing finger to one side or the other for the events of the past.

The Assembly's debate on the situation in Afghanistan is expected to last three days. The resolution on the question, co-sponsored by Pakistan and some other countries, is almost on the same lines as the one adopted by the Assembly last year.

The Indian delegate pointed out that the countries had chosen to emphasise, as last year, one element of a comprehensive solution to the detriment of others which had equal validity and applicability.

Such a biased and selective approach by the General Assembly could hardly be conducive to the strengthening of the hands of the U.N. Secretary-General, Mr Kamal Nath said. He added that the adoption, once again of a resolution which was unacceptable to some of the countries directly involved might be counter-productive. The Indian delegation could not, therefore support the resolution, he told the Assembly.

The Indian delegate proposed that the General Assembly should call upon those directly involved and outside Powers to exercise restraint and participate in the process of negotiations initiated by the Secretary-General. The prospect for a satisfactory solution lay in the success of the Secretary-General.

UNI adds : The Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen, a representative alliance of seven major groups of Afghan Mujahideen, based in Peshawar today declared that it would not accept any resolution or decision adopted at the U.N. General Assembly unless "the Mujahideen" were allowed to represent their case.

CSO: 4600/1415

## INDIAN VIEW ON SOVIETS IN AFGHANISTAN DISCUSSED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1-3 Dec 82

[Text of talk by Girilal Jain at a seminar organized by the Columbia University, New York, 15 Nov 82]

[1 Dec 82 p 8]

[Text] **T**O BEGIN with, permit me to say that nothing like a consensus obtains in my country on the issue of Soviet presence in Afghanistan and what New Delhi's response should have been and should be. There is a section of articulate opinion in India well represented in the press and in opposition parties which strongly takes the view that the Soviet military presence in Afghanistan constitutes a threat not only to Pakistan's but also to India's own security, that the disappearance of one of the two buffers between the Soviet Union and India gives this country a stake in the survival of Pakistan as a strong and viable entity, and that New Delhi should warmly respond to Islamabad's overtures so that relations of friendship and mutual trust can be established between the two countries in the interest of their joint security against the new threat.

This view, as is obvious, comes straight out of the writings of Lord Curzon and other British strategists of the 19th century, who were concerned with India's security, as the Czarist empire moved southward and their own moved westward. According to the proponents of this approach, the great game of Rudyard Kipling's description has been resumed from the Russian side and calls for an appropriate response from the Indian inheritors of the Raj. And among them are organisations and individuals who are called Hindu nationalists allegedly unreconciled to the existence of Pakistan on the one hand and the attempt to

establish a secular polity at home on the other. Apparently they are more anti-Soviet than anti-Pakistan.

### Diverse Viewpoints

Then there are the others who believe equally and sincerely that the Soviet action in Afghanistan is defensive; that it is a response to various U.S. moves to establish a strong military and political presence in the Persian-Arab gulf region and to exclude the Soviet influence from this area so close to its borders; that Moscow could not sit idly by as Amin in Afghanistan plunged the country into chaos and at the same time sought to establish contact with Washington through Pakistan; that all it wants in Afghanistan is stability under a genuinely neutralist regime and that it is so much nonsense to speak of the Soviet Union wanting to move to the warm water ports of the gulf via either Iran or Pakistan when it deploys a blue water navy and enjoys certain facilities in Aden and Scotora.

The advocates of this viewpoint include the pro-Soviet CPI and other leftists. But all those who take such a charitable view of Soviet actions in Afghanistan are not pro-Soviet and anti-West, or to be more specific, anti-U.S. This distinction is rather important. The left in India is by and large no longer too anti-West; it is only anti-U.S. These non-leftists who are inclined to give the benefit of the doubt to the Soviet Union tend to believe that, in any case, the Pakistani ruling military elite

continues to treat India as its enemy number one, that Islamabad is acquiring highly sophisticated weapons from the United States for use at some suitable opportunity against India, and that, therefore, whatever our view of Soviet intentions, we have little choice but to be vigilant about Pakistan.

It is difficult to say what India's stand would have been if Mrs. Gandhi was not once again elected to office in January 1980, that is, within weeks of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Mr. Charan Singh, India's caretaker Prime Minister at the time of the intervention in December 1979, had sent for the Soviet ambassador in New Delhi and spoken rather sharply to him. But it would be risky to rush to the conclusion that a non-Congress (I) government in India would have taken a line very different from Mrs. Gandhi's. India has good reasons to maintain friendly relations with the Soviet Union in view of the magnitude of the economic and military cooperation between the two countries. And it is worth recalling that it was a government headed by the well-known anti-communist Morarji Desai which concluded the large arms deal with the Soviet Union which is now being implemented.

### Criticism Of No Use

Let us leave aside the supposed predisposition of the present Indian Prime Minister and could-have-been Prime Ministers and examine what precisely India could have done. Instead of abstaining

in the U.N. general assembly, it could have voted in favour of the resolutions criticising the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and demanding the withdrawal of its forces from there and in the process earned some goodwill in President Reagan's Washington. But beyond perhaps increasing somewhat the Soviet Union's sense of isolation, such a gesture on India's part would have achieved precious little.

India could not have suddenly reversed its foreign and defence policies of the past three decades and proposed a joint defence pact to Pakistan. And what would have such an offer amounted to in the absence of a settlement of the dispute over Jammu and Kashmir? India, it can be argued, could have offered to withdraw some of its forces from the Pakistani border and thus enabled Islamabad to transfer more of its troops to its north-west frontier. But Mrs. Gandhi gave specific assurances to Pakistan that it did not need to worry about its security vis-a-vis India. But Pakistan showed no interest either then or subsequently in transferring troops from the Indian to the Afghan border and there is no evidence that it is so interested now.

It may be recalled that in the summer of 1980 Mr. Francis Fukuyama, then working at the Rand Corporation (financed out of allocations for the U.S. air force), visited Pakistan to discuss its security problems with its policy makers. His report has since been available. It brings it out in a most unambiguous manner that Pakistan continues to regard India as the principal threat to its security.

It is not pertinent to the present discussion for me either to say whether or not the Pakistani perception of its security interests is justified or to go into the sources of this perception. All that I am

trying to find out on the basis of the existing facts is whether India could have done much to influence the course of events in Afghanistan and Pakistan. My inference is that India could not have, even if it was willing to embarrass its relations with the Soviet Union, which, of course, no government in New Delhi would wish to do in a hurry.

Spokesmen of the present Indian government have argued that it tried to shape, in consultation with Pakistan, a joint approach to the issue of Soviet military presence in Afghanistan and that the U.S. decision to supply, against its own better judgment, such highly sophisticated equipment as F-16s to Pakistan frustrated this attempt. I would not care to press this view for a variety of reasons. For one thing, such a joint approach could not have amounted to much in that the Soviet Union would not have withdrawn from Afghanistan in response to a joint Indo-Pakistan call for such a withdrawal. For another, there is not much evidence to show that Pakistan was interested in working out such an approach. As I see it, Pakistan could not have behaved differently from the way it has.

It had to seek U.S. military assistance for a variety of reasons which are not critically dependent on the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. The Pakistan armed forces stand in need of modernisation, though they have acquired some modern equipment including Mirages from France and elsewhere since 1965 when the U.S. cut off its supplies. The country is ruled by a military junta which must keep its principal constituency, the armed forces, reasonably happy. India has undertaken a programme of modernisation of its military equipment which Pakistan cannot but wish to match, if not supersede.

Those of you who have followed developments in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent would be aware that since late last year Islamabad has been pressing a no-war pact on New Delhi, that after dragging its feet for some time and in the process conceding a propaganda victory to Pakistan, India has offered it a treaty of peace, friendship and cooperation, and that finally an agreement has been reached to establish a joint commission, the terms and scope of which are still to be determined.

### Baffling Proposal

I am not quite sure what Pakistan expects to get out of the no-war pact beyond perhaps making it somewhat easier for the Reagan administration to push the aid programme for it through the U.S. Congress year after year. I have been baffled on two counts. First, there is a specific provision in the Simla agreement of 1972 that neither side will resort to use, or threat of use of force, to settle any dispute between them. Secondly, Pakistan has not been interested in a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of the *status quo* which is the least India can possibly offer it.

I am, however, equally baffled by the Indian reluctance to discuss the Pakistani proposal precisely because I find it so meaningless. Mrs. Gandhi might have calculated that the acceptance of such an offer would make it difficult for her to rouse public opinion to the danger arising out of U.S. military supplies to Pakistan and to justify an increase in defence expenditure. Perhaps her reluctance had less to do with her approach to Pakistan than to the United States. Perhaps till early this year, she, too, like many others, did not believe that it was possible even to engage in a meaningful dialogue with Reagan's Washington.

[2 Dec 82 p 8]

[Text] PRESIDENT Zia-ul-Haq of Paki-

stan is a very shrewd individual and/or he is very ably assisted. He has secured substantial U.S. military cum-economic assistance without alienating the Soviet Union too much. He has allowed some amount of arms to reach the Afghan Mujahedin but within a limit which the Soviets apparently find tolerable. Indeed, he is sure that the Babrak Karmal set-up in Kabul will, with Soviet support or even under Soviet pressure, recognise the Durand line which no Afghan government has ever accepted. He has persuaded the Saudis

to cough out the money he needs to buy F-16s from the United States without incurring Iran's ire. I frankly cannot fathom his intention towards India. I am not even sure that if he is, indeed, well disposed towards India, he can make such a policy stick. And what happens after he is no longer Pakistan's President?

This should be as much a matter of concern for you in the United States as it is for us in India. The United States has a stake in seeing to it that Pakistan develops co-operation with India. This has always been the case. It is especi-

ally so in the context of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, the turbulence and uncertainty in Iran and the unpredictability of developments in the Gulf region as a whole.

We on our part too have an interest in Pakistan's pro-U.S. orientation, provided it gives Washington genuine influence in Islamabad. Whatever our relationship with the Soviet Union, it cannot be in our interest that Pakistan develops cordial ties with Moscow. But do Washington and New Delhi have the capacity to influence Pakistan's long-term policies sufficiently? Apparently Washington has more confidence in its ability to do so than

New Delhi. I for one share New Delhi's scepticism.

### Reactive Policies

I have been asked by my American friends whether I am not alarmed by the Soviet presence in Afghanistan. Quite frankly I am not able to make up my mind either on why the Soviets have behaved the way they have, or what advantages they expected to flow from their presence there, or whether their calculations have come out right or gone wrong. Broadly, I have taken the view that Soviet policies in Asia have been reactive, intended mainly to contain western, specially U.S. initiatives and moves and that the Soviet Union suffers from too many handicaps to be able to seize the initiative. But the uncertainty in Iran in particular and the Gulf generally has made it difficult for me to be sure that the Soviet posture in that part of the world is going to remain defensive for ever, though I am unable to see how it can turn the situation in the Gulf to its advantage without risking a confrontation with the United States which it has been the consistent Soviet policy since the Cuban crisis in 1962 to avoid. I am also not able to figure out how the Soviet presence in Afghanistan increases its ability to take advantage of troubles in Iran or elsewhere.

As for Pakistan, my view is that the Soviet Union would go to great lengths to befriend it rather than seek to break it up. I do not believe that the Soviets are going to unleash the Baluch guerrillas in Afghanistan. Indeed, in my view, there is an inherent conflict of interest between Baluch nationalism and the Soviet Union. Even otherwise I do not believe that the Baluch people are as well placed as the Bangladeshis were to assert their independence. Pakistan faces, in my opinion, a far more serious problem in the shape of the Afghan refugees and I do not quite see how it is going to tackle it.

### U.S. Preoccupations

In view of developments in Lebanon since the Israeli attack on June 6 and the consequent greater immediate U.S. involvement in the region, I am not sure whether it is still America's policy to raise for the Soviets the cost of their presence in Afghanistan to a level when it seriously hurts them. On the contrary, it seems to me that

Afghanistan has moved to the backburner for all concerned major parties — America, China and Pakistan. But that apart, I have little doubt that the Soviets are there to stay. This raises the question whether it significantly modifies Pakistan's strategic position and promises to compel it to revise its defence priorities. I do not think it is possible to answer this question at this stage. I just do not know how things will shape.

It follows that in my view Mrs. Gandhi should examine the prospect of improved Indo-Pakistani relations outside the context of the development in Afghanistan. Since Pakistan has defined its *raison d'être* in anti-Indian terms and has held that we Indians are not reconciled to its existence, she would also be well advised to leave the initiative for improved ties to Islamabad. Let it decide what kind of cooperation, if any, it wants to develop with India.

There has been a lot of speculation in India that the military regime in Pakistan is unpopular, that not only the ethnic minorities such as the Sindhis, Baluch and Pathans but also large segments of the Punjabi population are alienated from it, that the continuation of the martial law and the imposition from above of the harsh Shariat laws have greatly angered the intelligentsia and made it more favourably disposed towards India than ever before. I for one would not wish to join this speculation. Let the Pakistanis manage their affairs as best they can.

The U.S. policy makers are brave people capable of making quick decisions. So in their wisdom they have decided to cast Pakistan in the role of a front-line state in their conflict with the Soviet Union. They have apparently convinced themselves that Pakistan will help them raise the cost of the "occupation" of Afghanistan for the Soviet Union, that a strong Pakistan will offset the "loss" of Iran as a U.S. surrogate in south-west Asia and that if the crunch comes, Pakistani troops, well-trained and well-armed, will be available for ensuring the survival of the present Saudi regime. We do not know what other roles the White House, the Pentagon, the State Department and the CIA have assigned to Pakistan. It is their business.

I do not wish to sound harsh. But it does seem to me that many of you Americans when in power tend to treat other countries as if they are culturally-neutral power units whom you could persuade,

cajole or buy into playing a certain role which you think is in your interest. Perhaps you cannot help thinking in that way in view of your own background as a melting pot of various nations, and races, and acting in that way in view of your worldwide commitments and the nature of the challenge you think you have been facing. Our background is different, though we too have had to cope with the problem of integrating diverse peoples and faiths into our body politic. And we have no external commitments which oblige us to treat other people as pawns on the chessboard of power politics. So our approach is different. And it is our considered judgement that Pakistan is neither capable of nor interested in playing the roles your administration has assigned it in its calculations.

### Parallel Relations

From what I have said, it follows that in my assessment there is little possibility of an America-India-Pakistan trilateral relationship developing. In fact, we are back to the fifties when the United States maintained parallel relations with India and Pakistan and sought to keep a balance between them.

I am in no position to say whether the U.S.-Pakistan relationship in the 'eighties is going to be as stable as it was from 1954 when Washington decided to extend military aid to Pakistan to 1965 when it ended that aid in view of the Indo-Pakistani war. And I do not wish to speculate on the subject. But I would make one point. Pakistan now sees itself much more a part of the Muslim world than it has done ever before. The fundamentalist-revivalist upsurge is not particularly strong in that country but the pan-Islamic sentiment is. So the attitude of other Muslim countries, peoples and movements towards you is likely to influence considerably Pakistan's relations with you.

In India's case also, some differences are obvious. U.S. aid, bilateral as well as multilateral, figured prominently in Indo-U.S. relations in the 'sixties. Now that phase is over, thanks to your own economic difficulties, your aid weariness, your low priority for India and President Reagan's general approach. This means that unless there is a substantial flow of private U.S. investment into India, of which I for one do not see much possibility, the relations between you and us are likely to remain thin in substance and perhaps even in rhetoric.

[Text] **UNLIKE** Mr. Nehru, Mrs. Indira

Gandhi is not ideologically inclined. She has no hang-up about Asianism or anti-imperialism or whatever. She is interested in asserting India's independence and promoting India's interests as she sees them. Her emphasis is her relations with you (the United States) and the Soviet Union will shift as the exigencies of the Indian interests require. That is the Indian meaning of non-alignment and it is not likely to change.

On the other hand, there is considerable goodwill in our country for yours. After our brief experience of the emergency from June 1975 to March 1977 our intelligentsia has come to respect democratic values more than before. The hold of the leftist ideology in our country has declined as a result of the poor performance of all socialist economies and our own public sector. Several hundred thousands people of Indian origin are doing well in your country and they have relations and friends back at home. I think we are also more self-assured than we used to be. That is why we have been able to take your military assistance to Pakistan in our stride. Mrs. Gandhi sought to rouse public opinion on the issue. But she did not get the response she might have expected.

### Much One-sidedness

You inevitably loom much larger in our scheme of things than we do in yours. You are rich and strong and you do not need our goodwill as much as we do. You are preoccupied with numerous immediate and pressing problems and have little time for us. We are of little relevance to you in your contest with the Soviet Union, or in your efforts to promote some kind of stability in West Asia. Even as a non-aligned country we mattered for you so long as you regarded Communist China as a source of danger to your own interests. Now you regard China as a friendly power, though perhaps no longer as the Asian member of NATO. We need you for aid from the World Bank and the IMF, to ensure that Pakistan does not use your weapons against us and to avoid undue dependence on the Soviet Union. You have no similar need for our goodwill.

So there is bound to be a great deal of one-sidedness in the Indo-U.S. relationship. This is not a complaint. It suits the Indian temperament and policy quite well. Moreover by virtue of its thinness

the relationship is likely to be a stable and a more equal one. We are beginning to learn not to expect too much from you and, therefore, we will not be too critical of you. In the past we have perhaps, expected too much from you not only in bilateral terms but also in general terms. We used to be shocked that you supported cruel dictatorship. In that sense, President Carter was like a breath of fresh air for us. You as a people hardly worry about us.

During my last visit to your country in June this year, a taxi driver in New York asked me if I was a Pakistani. I told him that I was an Indian and then I asked him why he wanted to know. He said: "you know those Pakistanis are making the bomb. So I wanted to know if you were a Pakistani so that I could find out about the bomb". Having discovered that I was an Indian, he had no questions to ask of me. By itself it was an innocent encounter. But it told me a lot. Even as a source of the dreaded nuclear proliferation, Pakistan has come to arouse more interest in the U.S. than India. Perhaps this is as well both for you and us.

An American friend has asked me to try to answer some questions which he regards as pertinent. I shall quote him.

"The first is alternative Indian perspectives on Pakistan's role in South Asia now that the Russians are on the Khyber (e.g. — a weak buffer existing on terms agreed between Moscow and Delhi; a strong buffer capable of raising the risks of further Soviet pressure — a principal antagonist of India; a stooge of the United States, etc.). The second issue concerns the way Indian analysts perceive threats to Indian security that could come from the Gulf, (e.g Saudi support for an adventurist Pakistan; Pakistan seeking to overcome its sense of weakness by adventure towards Iran; the Islamic military community as a threat to India; an American establishment in the Gulf and how it would work to India's disadvantage, etc) . . . ."

For me, nothing could better illustrate the sharp difference between the way we look at developments in that part of the world from the way some of your thinkers view them from here.

### Pakistan No Buffer

As far as I can see, there can be no question of India and the Soviet Union being able to work out a

status for Pakistan which makes it a weak buffer and enforcing it on Islamabad. First, India has never entered into this kind of dialogue with the Soviet Union either on Pakistan or on China. Mr. Nehru knew of the problems between the Soviet Union and China; for example, when Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Bulganin visited India in the winter of 1955. But to the best of my knowledge, there was never any discussion between the two countries on how best China could be "contained". The same applies now, in my view, to Pakistan.

Secondly, Pakistan is not a little helpless country whose status India and the Soviet Union can define. Pakistan has powerful friends in the United States and in the Muslim world. India is in no position to defy this powerful combination. As you know, India seeks reasonable relations with the United States and with Muslim countries. If anything, it has been deferential towards their interests and susceptibilities.

As I have made it clear in the earlier part of my talk, India is interested in a strong and stable Pakistan. But it is not in a position to do much in this regard. It also does not look upon Pakistan as a buffer. India also does not look upon Pakistan as a stooge of the United States and Indian analysts at the moment are uncertain whether Pakistan will re-emerge as an antagonist or seek a measure of cooperation in promoting stability in the sub-continent.

To the best of my knowledge, no influential and well-known Indian analyst has so far discussed any possible threat to India's security resulting from developments in the Gulf. We have seen our security problems wholly in the context of Pakistan, China and some kind of alliance between them.

Some Indians are concerned least the Soviet Union emerges as the dominant power in the Gulf region. They fear the rise of a Muslim grouping backed by the Soviet Union and hostile to India. I for one see no possibility of such a development in view of the prevailing or likely balance of power in the region.

### Peace Zone

I don't believe, and I don't think any other serious Indian analyst believes, that Saudi Arabia would ever support any adventurist action on the part of Pakistan, or that Pakistan would wish to or be able to undertake an adventure towards Iran out of a feeling of either

weakness or strength, or that anything like a Muslim military community can arise to threaten India's security. Finally, as you know only too well, the government of India has been opposed to U.S. military presence, as it has been opposed to the Soviet military presence, in the Indian Ocean in general and in areas close to its coast in particular. New Delhi has been campaigning for the Indian Ocean to be declared a zone of peace so that the superpowers are kept out of it except for peaceful purposes. But it does not follow that the Indian govern-

ment fears that the U.S. presence will be specifically to its disadvantage. Its main concern has been that the intensification of the U.S.-Soviet competition in the region will vitiate the atmosphere and add to the existing instability.

To sum up, the South-Asian and South-West scene, as I view it and as I think most Indians view it, is full of uncertainties. So we regard it impossible to make any firm assessment or prediction about it. We are generally trying to strengthen our security arrangements

within the resources available to us so that we can take care of any contingency that may arise. We are not imagining the worst and trying to provide for it. Such a frame of mind can only lead us either to step up our defence expenditure to a level where it disrupts our economy or to abandon our policy of non-alignment and to align ourselves with one of the superpowers. We find both options abhorrent and unacceptable. We may be running some risks but we find them more acceptable.

CSO: 4600/1435

INDIA

SOVIET MAGAZINE ARTICLE ON INDIAN RIGHTISTS

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 26 Nov 82 p 7

[Text] Moscow, Nov 27 (UNI)--The emerging right reactionary alternative to the Indian National Congress led by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi has been described the main danger in India by leading Soviet Communist ideologue Prof R Ulyanovsky, one of the advisors to the Soviet Communist Party on Indian affairs.

'This danger is appearing on the Indian political horizon with increasing frequency', he warns.

Prof Ulyanovsky has expressed his views in the prestigious Soviet journal 'Asia and Africa today'.

He forecasts a very tense political struggle and political life in India. The left in India, Prof Ulyanovsky says, has been ridden with dissensions and lack of mutual understanding in chalking out a unified programme, which has been exploited by rightist forces. 'This is precisely the reason that uniting the forces of social progress has become one of the most important tasks. Leftist forces should unite with progressive forces in order to fight the danger emanating from the right. This assumes the highest priority for the development of India.'

The struggle against the emerging right alternative lends importance to the Indian National Congress under Mrs Indira Gandhi which Prof Ulyanovsky describes as relatively progressive in the historic sense. No doubt, the INC utilises this situation for consolidating its popularity as a legitimate authority.

In the peoples' mind, even the most progressive course cannot be separated from the individual and it is always associated with personality, he goes on to say.

For the last 35 years opposition in India could not throw up such a figure. But the case with the INC is different. Its authority was determined and is being determined by the fact that it is a party of Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru, and it is rallying round under one leader. It has become quite obvious that in all the splits that the INC has undergone Indian people have voted for those leaders who remained steadfast to Mrs Gandhi.

Being the daughter of Nehru has been helpful to her to a large extent, but she has her own qualities which have contributed in consolidation of her influence.

Prof Ulyanovsky says that an outstanding state leader of Asia she possesses dynamism, energy, firm determination, ability to establish personal rapport with masses in the hours of their joy and sorrow, which earns her sympathy among voters.

He says that it is very difficult to make any prognosis for the political developments in India. But even for the INC there is no way out to consolidate its power and authority but to return to socialist ideas of Nehru, the policy of social progress in the interests of masses.

CSO: 4600/1456

## ANALYST ON SOVIET INTENTIONS BEFORE DELHI MEET

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Dec 82 p 9

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 6.

The new Soviet leadership is reported to be toying with the idea of a token withdrawal of troops from Afghanistan on the eve of the forthcoming non-aligned summit in Delhi as a symbolic gesture to demonstrate its desire for a reasonable settlement of this problem.

There is no confirmation of the reported move from the Soviet side, but no denial either that Moscow is contemplating some such initiative to pre-empt the attempts of the pro-Western countries to press for a stronger resolution on Afghanistan at the summit.

Several non-aligned countries are making discreet inquiries in Delhi to ascertain whether India has been taken into confidence by the Soviet Union, if it was indeed thinking of a partial withdrawal to pave the way for some sort of negotiations without in any way loosening its grip on Afghanistan. It remains to be seen whether the reported move is a trial balloon to gauge the reactions of the non-aligned nations or just a ploy to keep the uncommitted away from a possible line-up with those that are bent on condemning severely the continued Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

**Hostages to folly:** The Western powers would certainly like to see the Soviet troops withdraw from Afghanistan. But if there is no hope of such a pullout in the near future, they see no great disadvantage to themselves if the 90,000 Soviet troops remain pinned down indefinitely as hostages to Moscow's own monumental folly of massive military intervention.

A token, or even, partial, withdrawal cannot by itself erode the Soviet position in Afghanistan since Moscow can always reinforce the remaining troops within a matter of hours from its Central Asian garrisons. But the damage already done to its prestige can be undone only through a dramatic withdrawal of the bulk of the force in quick stages to reassure the Afghan people that Moscow has no desire to keep them under permanent occupation.

**Shift in Pak. stance?**: The new Soviet leader, Mr. Yuri Andropov, did not talk of Afghanistan during his brief meeting with the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, in Moscow at the time of the Brezhnev funeral, but he is known to have broached the subject during his

encounter with the President of Pakistan. There is no reliable indication either from Soviet or from Pakistani sources about what exactly transpired during the Andropov-Zia discussion on Afghanistan.

An interesting consequence of this meeting has been a marked toning down of the Pakistani propaganda campaign against the continued Soviet military presence in Afghanistan. The foreign diplomats in Islamabad have been reporting back to their Governments that Pakistan is no longer averse to some compromise with the Soviet Union.

But even countries like India which have tended to give Moscow the benefit of doubt by avoiding open criticism of its action are not jumping to the conclusion that the Soviet troops would be pulled out at some point, leaving the Afghan people free to settle their future without any outside interference. The talk of a possible token withdrawal is, however, encouraging them to step up their own private efforts to persuade Moscow to come forward with some such gesture to open the way for negotiations.

**Readiness to replace Karmal:** The Western powers, too, do not expect Moscow to pull out unconditionally without making doubly certain that the pro-Soviet regime in Kabul can survive after coming to terms with its enemies in the name of preserving the independence and non-aligned character of Afghanistan. So the whole talk of a partial withdrawal, as a prelude to a complete pullout after a settlement, is being interpreted by some non-aligned countries as evidence of Moscow's readiness to replace Mr. Babrak Karmal with a more agreeable personality who is equally acceptable to it to pave the way for a settlement that would leave Afghanistan safely within the Soviet sphere of influence.

It is considered too early yet to hazard a guess whether the new Soviet leadership is serious about a settlement or talking of a token pullout simply to buy time and keep its critics wondering about its ultimate intentions. And countries like India that are keen on finding a way out of this tangled situation are waiting for a more detailed indication of Moscow's mind before responding to the reported Soviet move or coming forward with their own suggestions for consideration at the non-aligned summit.

CSO: 4600/1452

INDO-SOVIET COLLABORATION IN BLOOD TRANSFUSION

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 2 Dec 82 p 9

[Text] Chandigarh, Dec. 1.--A protocol for Indo-Soviet collaboration in blood transfusion and haematology will be finalized tomorrow, this was stated here today by Mr O. K. Gavrilov, Chairman of the Scientific Medical Council of the Soviet Ministry of Health.

Mr Gavrilov and three other Soviet experts--Mr G. V. Soukiassian, Mr I. G. Miterev and Mr V. A. Beloroussova today completed their tour of the country in this connexion.

They visited Trivandrum, Bombay, New Delhi and Chandigarh and discussed possible areas of cooperation with Indian experts.

They are to meet the officials of the Union Health Ministry in New Delhi tomorrow and finalize the protocol.

Mr Gavrilov told reporters that an agreement for collaboration in the medical field had been signed between India and his country in 1979.

The pact was to cover six areas, including blood transfusion and haematology. A team of Indian experts had visited the Soviet Union six months ago to discuss the projects with their Soviet counterparts.

He said there would be exchange of blood transfusion workers between the two countries, exchange of latest methods and technology in blood components' preparation, usage of blood components in treatment of blood diseases through special clinics attached to blood banks.

Indian specialists will be taught how to improve facilities, take up joint scientific investigation projects, treatment of haemophilia, joint work and comparing notes on the use of new methods, manufacture of plastic bags for storage of blood components.

This project will come up at Trivandrum with Soviet assistance. Efforts will be made for the development of regional centres of blood transfusion and haematology.

The Soviet experts said there were 300 regional centres of blood transfusion and a blood bank with each hospital in the Soviet Union.

Mr Gavrilov commended the effort to organize five regional centres in India, beginning with Chandigarh, and said there should be many more as the scheme got going.

He said his country had been able to arrange for total voluntary blood donation system as the matter was tackled at the organizational level like at farms, factories and educational institutions.

He said the promotion of such a system was essential. Asked about the development of synthetic blood, he said studies were going on in his country, as in the USA and Japan.

He said components of blood like flouro carbons and polymerized haemoglobin had been prepared in the Soviet Union and were being tested clinically. Cadaver blood too was being utilized in his country, he added.

CSO: 4600/1432

## DYNASTIC ASPECTS OF GANDHI REGIME ANALYZED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 23, 24 Nov 82

[Article by Nayantara Sahgal]

[23 Nov 82 p 8]

[Text]

**R**ECENTLY I asked a magazine editor whether he would be interested in an article on the subject of dynastic rule in India. It has long seemed strange to me that of all Third World countries it should be India—heir to a national movement nurtured on socialist, democratic ideals, and conceived as a republic whose first acts were to do away with the bastions of inherited privilege—whose leadership has developed a taste for dynasty.

Why India? Nkrumah, Nasser, Soekarno were all charismatic leaders, whose countries were closely identified with their personal image. They were all credited with varying degrees of messianic consciousness, but they never went this far. Their ambitions stopped short of passing political power through the bloodline. Nehru, unchallenged in his lifetime, chose not to appoint a successor at all, in spite of the "After Nehru, Who?" query that hung over the latter years of his Prime Ministership. He did not indicate his choice even in the democratically accepted sense that Winston Churchill named Anthony Eden. Mrs Gandhi did not, of course, succeed her father, and when the Congress party chose her as its leader after Lal Bahadur Shastri's sudden death, it did not do so with permanence and inherited leadership in mind for the future.

Some wives—Mrs Isabella Peron and Mrs Imelda Marcos—have figured in the Third World's power play. But Mrs Peron was not her husband's

direct successor, and President Marcos has not so far appointed his wife as his successor. In Sri Lanka, where Mrs Bandaranaike did immediately succeed her husband as his party's choice, she could not carry the talisman of relationship any further, even if that was what she had in mind. The country voted her party out in 1977, and once again rejected it in the recent election, from which, in any case she herself was constitutionally debarred. It chose the Jayewardene alternative instead.

## RESPECTABILITY

It may be the lack of a national alternative that has made sections of the Indian public indifferent, or resigned, to what happens next in India. Certainly, the idea of a political dynasty in Delhi has acquired a degree of respectability it did not enjoy in 1975 when it first made its appearance. There is no denying that the proposition lives, breathes and prospers in the administration, which seems fully to promote and support it. It is taken for granted that Mrs Gandhi's son is not only her choice as party leader—she would be within her rights in selecting someone whom her party agreed to support—but that he is a kind of royal heir apparent who holds a privileged position by virtue of his ancestry.

No modern monarchy functions in this way. Royal prerogatives are strictly defined, and royal expenditure, so far as it comes out of the public exchequer, must be approved by par-

liaments. Royal example and behaviour are, if anything, expected to set the highest standards of rectitude for the country. So the royal syndrome, as practised in India today, has little to do with the disciplines imposed on modern monarchies, and seems to hark back to primitive models.

The editor I spoke to looked uncomfortable at my suggestion, and asked, "But what evidence have you of any dynastic design?" The question was absurd. It was also tragic. It is symptomatic of a culture that for 600 years had its back to the wall, and was obliged to merge into the landscape in order to remain unnoticed if it wanted to survive. The tragedy is that though we have been in charge of our own affairs for 35 years, it has not made much difference to the independence or confidence of those whose lives are lived close to the power structure. The atmosphere of Delhi has never so closely resembled a medieval court.

The editor was well aware of the evidence, which is seven years old, and started with the debut of Sanjay Gandhi into the national limelight during the Emergency. Censorship ended criticism of his failure as an entrepreneur, and obtained a favourable build-up for him in the Press. The suspension of Habeas Corpus made acquiescence the better part of valour. What makes the present situation remarkable is that the prospect of an impending dynastic succession, which could fundamentally alter the Indian polity, does not arouse much comment.

in spite of the fact that we are free to speak our minds, and are not under any statutory intimidation.

Can we tell, by this indifference, whether the Congress party and the public support dynasty? If we are to judge by the past, no one can be sure to what extent this is so. The Congress that ostensibly accepted Sanjay Gandhi as its next leader, broke up in 1978, chiefly on this issue. Mrs Maneka Gandhi's defection has already produced more cracks and fissures, and triggered a rash of arrests that betrays a leadership far from confident of attaining its heart's desire. It is significant, too, that the desire has never been spelled out for Indian audiences in quite the way it has for foreign consumption, through well-projected public relations campaigns that include a documentary on the Nehru family, with Mrs Gandhi and her surviving son as its focus.

### SCHISM

All this would suggest that the overt docile reactions of a party based on obedience are no indication of its real thoughts on any subject. Are both the Congress and the public then examples of a two-faced culture that keeps appearance and reality in separate compartments?

Is this a consequence of having had to dissimulate over a long period of subjection in order to protect identity and interests? Or is this schism older and more deeply ingrained in Hindu thought, which makes no categorical distinction between right and wrong, good and evil, and sees both as part of the same grand design? The highest wisdom is to accept one's lot in life. The highest purpose is union with the divine and this is a ruggedly individual enterprise that has no bearing on one's neighbour and his needs,

much less society as a whole. Inequalities, inhumanities, hierarchies can flourish around one while the soul engages in its struggle for self-realization. There is no intimate connexion between the Hindu and the world he lives in, except in terms of the duties he has to perform, laid down by his caste and station in life. No universal rules govern conduct.

A Brahmin's duty is different from a Sudra's. Rama's duty was dictated by his kingship, not his humane and just instincts as a man, or his devotion as a husband. He is enshrined forever as a legendary ideal, though he discarded a brave and loving wife, whose virtue had been publicly redeemed through her ordeal by fire. No Hindu has ever questioned this shockingly immoral decision, which is a clear denial of justice, apart from the arid wasteland it conjures up of a conjugal relationship.

The vacuum in the Hindu-religious ethic is the absence of moral choice, which only the individual conscience can make. The gap is so obvious that Mahatma Gandhi had to import conscience into Hinduism as the true source of moral judgment, and the only reliable guide to the worthwhile life. Gandhi who called truth God, instead of the other way around took every private and public decision on the basis of the "still, small voice" within him, and it had the effect of dynamite upon rock when he applied it to untouchability and other crimes against humanity. It helped him to propel in a short time change that might otherwise have taken a hundred years. But was this the influence of Christianity upon a devout Hindu?

### CONSCIENCE

The arrival of Christianity among religions set up a God

of love and compassion, not merely one of power, and a conscience that must constantly choose between right and wrong. The Reformation broke with the Catholic Church, and the Quakers and other radical non-conformists broke with orthodox Protestantism, on questions of the supremacy of conscience. A revolution of value thus shook the Western world, the kind that Gandhi fashioned his own revolution of. But the Mahatma is not much more than a memory, while the 3000-year-old Upanishads and the 400-year-old Tulsidas Ramayana remain rooted in the imagination, and are almost contemporary in their hold on the mind. Nothing has yet challenged the core proposition that the world is a garment to be cast off, and reality lies in shedding it.

The object of life is to escape life, and one is largely relieved of individual choices in the course of it. The theory of reincarnation, too, does it bit to lull us into acceptance. It has a metaphysical majesty, providing one with the opportunity for self-improvement not in a single lifetime, but through many lifetimes. But if this life is reward or punishment for the one that went before, then the well-born and powerful must be esteemed, and the unfortunate have only themselves to blame for their lot. This may be too simple an explanation of a vast concept, but it constitutes what most people call religion, and it ensures a passive acceptance of the status quo.

The establishment of the first political dynasty in Kashmir has stolen a march on Delhi. But before dynasty per se becomes part of Indian politics, we should ask ourselves whether we have chosen this development, or have simply allowed it to happen

[Article by T. V. Sathyamurthy]

[24 Nov 82 p 8]

[Text] RECENT attempts on the part of dominant factions in a number of State units of the Congress (I) — especially in regions where the party stands most discredited — to railroad the nomination of Mr Rajiv Gandhi for the post of party president have once again brought to the fore the issue of who Mrs Gandhi's successor ought to be.

To be sure, these Congress (I) factions have taken the precaution of lacing their importunities with unctuously worded provisos to the effect that the son should take the mother's place only if (and perhaps also, when) the latter is ready to step down from her organizational office, presumably in order to devote her entire energies to the task of pro-

viding "a Government that works". This is obviously the first move in what already promises to be a tedious and long drawn-out game of Prime Ministerial succession which, in all probability, is likely to be played out for a total period ranging anywhere between three to 15 years.

## DYNASTIC

The media are obsessed with this question of questions; and sections of the intelligentsia take it seriously enough endlessly to debate the pros and cons of "dynastic succession" without generating a single new insight into the rapidly changing character of Indian politics. That in an independent modern national republic — with a well established set of political, legal and administrative institutions capable of sustaining a certain degree of democracy, by and large, without letting it "go off the rails" for too long an interval at a time — so much public attention should be devoted to an essentially ascriptive and feudal notion is an indication of the seriousness and problematic character of the political malaise prevalent in most parts of the country.

The process of short-circuiting democratic procedures in order to ensure uncontested political succession has a long and hallowed history in the Congress party. Mahatma Gandhi, who was surrounded by at least 20 male and female political leaders of similar age and national stature, abruptly and in an arbitrary manner nominated his "political heir" by skipping half a generation and choosing a sort of stormy petrel of the Congress movement who could be tamed in high office. And he on whom the mantle of leadership fell became the legatee of the most powerful political office after independence.

Jawaharlal Nehru's succession to the leadership of the Indian national movement was marked by two interesting features. First, though it was not dynastic in the strict sense of the term, it bore the hallmark of a process of selection that neglected the task of evolving clear institutionalised procedures while placing a high premium on suppressing ideological dissent (in this particular instance, Subhas Bose's rapid rise in popular esteem was viewed as undesirable and needing to be curbed) within the organization.

Nehru's own behaviour when in power was somewhat more complex. He had a bent of mind which rendered it difficult for him to make ultimate choices between the ways of constitutionalism and the ways of feudal arbitrariness. On the one hand, surrounded as he was by men and women of relatively high ability by contemporary standards, many of whom could and sometimes actually did stand up to him, he

was in a position to develop a more or less healthy respect for institutional (especially parliamentary) norms and procedures, constitutional proprieties and a generally positive attitude towards the eradication of wholly feudal ways of conducting the nation's political affairs. On the other, however, he was keenly interested in influencing the succession to the Prime Ministership in favour of his daughter.

In the event, Nehru was sufficiently caught up in the niceties of how he should go about the task of achieving his purpose to have viewed it in broad terms as involving a three-stage grooming operation. Mrs Gandhi was first given the chance to head the Congress party in 1958. In the second stage, a number of old leaders (the so-called Syndicate) were informally detailed (under the umbrella of the Kamaraj Plan) to go into the question of revitalisation of the ruling party, or in other words, to lay down the criteria for choosing an acceptable successor. It was only in the third stage, and as a consequence of the unexpected death of Lal Bahadur Shastri, that Nehru's wish was posthumously fulfilled.

Thus the specific characteristic of Nehru's preoccupation with the question of succession lay in what, by today's standards, would appear to be a commendable commitment on his part to reducing arbitrariness and keeping the general level of politics underlying the choice of leader from sinking too low. Though his efforts eventually bore fruit in such a manner as to highlight the dynastic element of succession, it was in fact, if anything, the very opposite of his own choice as national leader by Gandhi.

## DEGENERATE

The spectacle we have been witnessing since the mid-seventies is, however, of a qualitatively different and possibly even somewhat degenerate character. The underlying dynamic of the manipulations taking place at the present juncture within the ruling party cannot be grasped without a clear understanding of the main changes that have taken place within the party, the Government and the country as a whole during the last decade or so.

The Congress has long since ceased to attract politically dedicated young talent. At the same time, able established leaders of a relatively independent disposition were ejected from the party

during the several bouts of vivisection to which it has been subjected since 1969. At the State level, posts of party leaders and Chief Ministers, once occupied by puissant stalwarts with a good deal of political clout often going beyond the reaches of their own regions, are today offered to and withdrawn at will from people who enjoy little respect either among their own constituencies or within the organizational hierarchy. The recent remark of an erstwhile member of the Prime Minister's household to the effect that the Congress is no longer the party of Gandhi and Nehru but of goondas and thugs would appear to be a fairly accurate assessment based on first hand knowledge, albeit rather belatedly shared with the general public.

A discredited ruling party, riven by factions at every level except right under the Congress president's nose in Delhi, with no chance of regaining lost respect in the eyes of the people, has nowhere to turn but to the dovecotes of Number One Safdarjung Road in order to ensure prolongation of its enjoyment of power and perks, and in a desparate bid to regain lost legitimacy. The profound state of malaise into which Congress (I) affairs has sunk is being exploited by vested interests which divert attention away from organizational and political tasks to the entirely epiphenomenal and superfluous question of succession. Those who are busily preparing the ground for a continuance of dynastic hegemony ought to know that this is no way to restore the health of the body politic.

The process by which the Government has discredited itself over the years has been somewhat more convoluted than the much more straightforward descent to decadence of the ruling party. Here, shibboleth socialism has been intensified from time to time in order to revive fading popularity, only to be followed during the post-election years by concrete policies which have, on balance, been more anti-people than pro-people. It would be difficult for the Centre to sustain the claim that its economic policies have benefited the poor 90 per cent of the population proportionately to the better of 10 per cent of the upper crust of society. Challenges from the grassroots are invariably met with repressive legislation and an unleashing of systematic and variegated police violence on disadvantaged sections of the population.

## EXCESSES

Such excesses were somewhat tempered during the interregnum of 1977-80 (and to a lesser degree, since 1980) with the return of constitutional legalities. But there is no dearth of actually enacted central legislation as well as legislation from the States (let alone enactments still in the pipeline such as the notorious and far-reaching Hospitals and other Institutions Bill proposed for parliamentary consideration in the near future), of which the Bihar Press Bill is but one infamous example among many. Taken together, these punitive laws can reasonably be regarded as constituting a part of a carefully orchestrated attempt by the Centre to bring back the Emergency by stealth.

With a vast majority of the population thus ineradicably all-

enated from the country's normal political processes, the powerful classes, with an eye to maintaining stability in order to safeguard their interests, appear to have given tacit approval to the proposition that, if under the circumstances, a dynastic alternative would be preferable to changes of a radical character, so be it. The most powerful classes are thus in favour of a course of action in respect of the so-called succession issue to which the public has become utterly indifferent.

Paradoxically, the general political condition of India has developed in such a manner as to make it extremely difficult for existing structures of power to cope adequately with the pace, quality and extent of change. Central power is threatened by diverse forces of regionalism, and by political repercussions accompanying a deepening of the

contradiction between the interests of the industrial capitalist and rural rich classes. Tensions engulfing the daily life of the rapidly increasing ranks of unorganized rural and urban poor have been sharpened. The restiveness of the organized rural and urban labour force in the face of the burden of a basically distorted economy that is continually being thrust upon them by the State is another of the major challenges facing the country.

These problems can scarcely be solved by giving an indefinite lease of power to a party which has developed a habit of responding to crises by deliberately shifting its focus away from the harsh realities of life and concentrating on how a smooth succession — which in this case happens to be dynastic in character — can be fixed.

CSO: 4600/1410

## ANALYST EXPLAINS DECISION ON STATE ELECTIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 27 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 26.

The decision to hold the Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, along with Tripura, in early January was taken by the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, on Wednesday after consulting some of her senior party colleagues.

Earlier indications were that Mrs. Gandhi wanted to have these elections in February, before the non-aligned summit, but later on it became known that she was thinking of advancing the poll to January so that all the three States could go to the polls together.

The Prime Minister had initially asked her Secretariat not to fix any major official engagements for her between mid-January and mid-February requiring her presence in Delhi. But she started a few days back cancelling the appointments fixed from mid-December itself, which implied that she was keeping herself free to campaign, especially in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, if it was decided to have early elections.

The Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, who were in Delhi last week for the Asian Games, gave the impression that the elections would be held in February, which meant that they were either not told of her intention to have an early poll or asked to keep this a secret until the necessary decision was taken in consultation with the Election Commission. In this sense the announcement made by the Election commission today came as a surprise to the Congress (I) circles here.

**Convention:** The official explanation given for the decision to have a simultaneous poll in the three States is that it is a well established electoral convention to ensure that the voting pattern in one State should not influence the electorate in other States going to the polls thereafter in what is for all practical purposes a continuous campaign.

As the five-year tenure of the three State Assemblies are due to end on January 19, March 14 and March 16, it was thought that it would be more appropriate to have elections together in all of them.

But there were other political considerations behind this decision. The Congress (I) High Command has evidently come to the conclusion that, on balance, an early election would be to its advantage, especially in Andhra Pradesh where it has to contend with the NTR phenomenon. At one stage the party was toying with the idea of a snap poll in the two southern States in September last, before it got bogged down in the politics of its own factionalism.

It was felt that, all said and done, the Congress (I) had an organisation at the grassroots level that was by and large still intact and it could be used again as a vote-gathering machine to the ruling party's advantage. The Telugu Desam movement, it was argued, was basically a one-man show and, no matter what his personal popularity as a matinee idol, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao could not by himself conduct the campaign all over the State and give a well-entrenched party like the Congress (I) the kind of fight required for defeating it.

**Threat fails to materialise:** The Congress (I) strategists feel that the ruling party should not give the Opposition parties enough time to rise above the rut of their own squabbles and come to some electoral adjustments to put a combined fight against it. The earlier threat of an exodus from the Congress (I) to Telugu Desam, it is pointed out, has not materialised because the free-wheeling politicians in the State who jumped on to Mrs. Gandhi's bandwagon in 1978 are not too sure how NTR is going to fare in the coming elections.

The Prime Minister's advisers, who have been surveying the Andhra scene from every possible angle, utilising every available agency to assess the situation, feel that the Congress (I) prospects are quite good, at any rate not as bad as some pessimists in the ruling party seem to imagine amidst their excessive preoccupation with the politics of factionalism.

The whole campaign in Andhra Pradesh this time is going to be conducted on the premise that the Indira Congress in the State can be saved only by Indira herself through a

barnstorming tour that would take her to all the districts.

The Central leadership is not unaware of the ugly reality that, whatever its capacity as an election-winning organisation, the prestige of the Congress (I) is pretty low, much more so in Andhra Pradesh than in Karnataka, because of the stigma of appalling corruption and growing disenchantment of the people with its poor administrative performance. The Centre has not crowned itself with glory by changing Chief Ministers too frequently and treating them

shabbily as though they were men of no consequence.

**Fund collections:** The Prime Minister is taking steps to ensure that there are no indiscriminate fund collections this time and no misuse of official machinery for raising money to finance the election campaign. She is reported to be equally keen that the allocation of Congress (I) ticket should be based on some criteria, and the applications should be processed carefully to ensure due representation to various castes.

CSO: 4600/1422

## G. K. REDDY: GANDHI HAS HAND IN STATE ELECTIONS

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 5.

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, has asked four of her senior party colleagues — Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, Mr. R. Venkataraman and Mr. A. P. Sharma — to process the Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka lists and try to ensure equitable representation to all groups before forwarding the names to the Parliamentary Board for final approval without any further probe into the antecedents of the candidates proposed for the Assembly elections.

The four leaders have been meeting informally the party leaders from the two States and they propose to split themselves into two groups for scrutinising the lists of names recommended by the Chief Ministers and the PCC(I) Presidents in consultation with their local colleagues.

The Prime Minister and the other Central leaders are keeping themselves free during the next few days to clear these lists in time in consultation with the party leaders from the two States. But the Central leadership has also compiled some data through its own channels on the background and political dependability of the sitting members for its guidance.

**Soviet party's attitude to CPI:** As the Congress (I) High Command goes through these Processes one aspect of the Andhra elections attracting considerable attention in diplomatic circles here is the ability or inability, readiness or reluctance, of the Soviet Communist Party to persuade or pressure, counsel or caution the CPI to adopt a less critical posture towards Mrs. Gandhi's Government. There is a lot of speculation here among the so-called specialists in Soviet affairs about the precise attitude of the socialist countries to this delicate issue since the Congress (I) and the Communists are ranged against each other in these elections.

The CPI leaders have quite understandably resented the reports wrongly attributed to the External Affairs Minister, Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao, that the Soviet leadership had advised them not to line up with "reactionary" parties to oppose the Congress (I) whatever

the nature of their relationship with it. Mr. Narasimha Rao is much too discreet a person to say anything like this in public even if it were factually correct.

**Role of intermediaries:** But it is true that some intermediaries had sounded the Soviet leadership some time back, presumably acting on their own as self-appointed emissaries of Mrs. Gandhi or her confidants, about the desirability of advising the Indian communists to give up their hostility towards the present Government. After some hesitation, the Soviet experts on India have been privately stressing the "anti-imperialist" and "anti-rightist" character of Mrs. Gandhi's politics to propagate the theory that in the larger interests of "Indo-Soviet solidarity" and "democratic unity", the CPI should adopt a constructive attitude.

**CPI ignored advice:** The Government received reports through its diplomatic channels that no less a personality than Mr. Yuri Andropov had advised some visiting CPI leaders after he took over as a Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in May last, to reconsider their policy towards Mrs. Gandhi's Government. But the Indian Communist leaders, it was reported, ignored the advice, maintaining that the Congress (I) had given up all its socialist pretensions and become an embodiment of reaction.

**Western sources reassured:** Whatever be the truth of the reported Soviet advice, the very fact that the two communist parties in Andhra Pradesh are not entering into any seat adjustment with the Telugu Desam is seen by the Soviet bloc diplomats here as a hopeful sign that they are not allowing electoral exigencies to compromise their principles. But, strangely enough, the Western diplomats, viewing the Andhra election prospects from the other side of the spectrum, see this as an equally reassuring indication that the communists have not been having their way with the other opposition parties in the State.

Apart from its anxiety to avoid the odium of indiscriminate local collections, the Congress (I) Central leadership has taken upon itself the responsibility of the entire election campaign at least in Andhra Pradesh, if not on the same scale in Karnataka, where the fund raising has been done well in advance, to exercise some check on the flow of foreign money. The intelligence agencies are keeping a strict watch on the financial sources of the various parties and personalities involved in these elections.

**Wider national significance:** There is also a feeling within the ruling party itself that if Mrs. Gandhi is able to confound her opponents in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka and win these elections with a comfortable margin in both the States, she might seriously consider taking the plunge and going in for a parliamentary poll at an opportune moment well before 1985 without waiting for the completion of her present five-year tenure. In this sense, these elections have come to assume a wider national significance well beyond their local importance.

SO: 4600/1449

CPI-M RELATIONS WITH CCP REPORTEDLY IMPROVE

Condolences on Dasgupta Death

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 5 Dec 82 p 1

[Text] Beijing, Dec. 4.--Senior Chinese leaders joined the small Indian community here today to pay homage to Promode Dasgupta, reports PTI.

In an eulogy, Mr Qiao Shi, alternate member of Liaison Department of Central Committee, said: "We are very much grieved at the death of Promode Dasgupta, who as a senior comrade of CPI(M) devoted his whole life to revolutionary cause of the Indian people".

Mr M. Basavapunniyah, CPI(M) politburo member said in his reply that "your doctors have done their best to keep him alive. Despite their best efforts they did not succeed".

He expressed his confidence that not only Sino-Indian relations would improve but also the relations between his party and the Chinese Communist Party.

A number of senior Chinese Communist Party members including Mr Zhiang Giang Ha, deputy head of International Liaison Department of the Central Committee were present.

Dasgupta's body was draped on the Communist Party flag. The body will be flown by a Chinese civilian plane on Sunday at 6 a.m. and the flight will reach Calcutta at 8-40 a.m. (local time).

Wreaths were placed on his body at the Beijing Hospital by Mr Arun Patwardhan, Minister in the Indian Embassy, on behalf of the Indian Ambassador, Mr A. P. Venkateshwaran, and Embassy staff members and by the Indian experts working for various Chinese organizations. The ambassador is away on a local tour.

The CPI(M) wants to re-establish party-to-party relationship with the Chinese Communist Party which was snapped in 1957, a CPI(M) politburo member told reporters today.

The Chinese Communist Party and the Russian Ambassador in India have sent messages to the CPI(M) mourning the death of Promode Dasgupta. The

international wing of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in its message said that Dasgupta's death was a big loss to the Communist movement in India in general and the CPI(M) in particular. He had devoted his life to establishment of socialism in India. The message called Dasgupta "a friend of the Chinese people" and said that his death was being grieved by them and the Chinese Communist party.

The Russian Ambassador's condolence message was handed over to Mr E. M. S. Namboodripad in Calcutta on Saturday by Soviet embassy officials.

The message said Dasgupta was known for his tireless struggle in defence of the vital interests of the working people of India, of their democratic rights and liberties.

The Afghanistan Ambassador in India in his condolence message described Dasgupta as a "freedom fighter champion of the downtrodden, world peace and an anti-imperialist soldier. His death has created a void in the international arena which will be difficult to fill".

Most members of the politburo and the Central Committee of the CPI(M) reached Calcutta on Saturday night to attend the funeral. A Chinese plane carrying Mr Dasgupta's body will land at Calcutta airport at 8-40 a.m. on Sunday.

#### Closer Links Planned

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 5 Dec 82 p 9

[Text] Beijing, December 4 (PTI): The Communist Party of India (Marxist) wants to re-establish party to party relationship with the Chinese communist party which was snapped in 1957, a CPM politburo member said today.

During the first fortnight after his arrival here on October 27, the late Mr. Promode Dasgupta, senior party politburo member, held two rounds of talks with his Chinese counterpart to re-establish "party to party relations in the near future."

But before the third round could take place Mr. Dasgupta died.

Mr. Basavapunniah, who rushed here last Sunday on hearing about Mr. Dasgupta's health, said he had held three rounds of talks with the Chinese leaders during the past six days. "We took every opportunity to express our opinion whenever we met "Chinese leaders," he said.

Mr. Basavapunniah described his discussions with the Chinese leaders as "informal" and said "we would continue the same. We have always good relationship with the Chinese communist party inspite of our differences."

CSO: 4600/1444

## CONGRESS-I REPORTED TO CENTRALIZE CAMPAIGN FUNDING

Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Dec 82 p 12

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 4.

For the first time in recent years, the Congress (I) central leadership has decided to finance the Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka Assembly elections from its own sources and directed the local leaders in the two States not to indulge in any fund collection this time.

The party High Command has also offered to provide vehicles for the campaign, either from the Central pool or from the neighbouring States so that the Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka Governments are not accused of misusing their official powers for electoral purposes.

The past practice was to supplement local collections with matching grants from Delhi, depending on the degree of loyalty of the concerned State leaders whether they were in or out of office. But the role was reversed during the last parliamentary elections, when the Central leadership had to rely on the benevolence of the local leaders in the Southern States where the party was in power at that time.

**Estimated cost of campaign:** The Central Congress (I) leaders estimate that the party will have to spend on an average at least Rs. 2 lakhs in each constituency during the current Assembly elections, which is a gross underestimate in the sense that this allocation is not enough to buy more than three cars or two jeeps, let alone the petrol expenses and other costs of the campaign. But even this token assistance of Rs. 2 lakhs for a constituency would add up to over Rs. 10 crores since there are altogether 518 constituencies in the two States.

A rough estimate of the Congress (I) expenditure on these Assembly elections in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka varies between Rs. 15 crores and Rs. 20 crores. It remains to be seen how the Central leadership is going to raise this money unless it had already set aside the cash. The local leaders have been asked not to resort to any large-scale fund raising this time, because the party High Command is aware of the bad name brought to the Congress (I) through indiscriminate collections during the 1980 Parliamentary elections.

The Congress (I) is reported to have spent nearly Rs. 30 lakhs on conducting a detailed

constituency-wise survey of the party prospects in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka before the decision was taken to go in for early elections. The information about the political dependability and winning capacity of various aspirants, besides the interaction of the caste factors, have also been gathered from other sources to check and crosscheck the assessments of the public opinion trends in the two States.

**Keeping party image intact:** The Prime Minister proposes to visit almost every district at least in Andhra Pradesh to carry the Congress (I) campaign to the Telengana, Rayalasema and the coastal regions. The party High Command proposes to exercise greater control this time not only on disbursement of funds, but also on the conduct of the campaign to ensure that factional feuds at the local level did not damage the party prospects.

The Central leaders are proceeding on the assumption that it should be possible to evolve the consensus for selecting acceptable candidates for at least half the constituencies in Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka in consultation with the major group interests. But it may have to exercise its own discretion in the allocation of the party ticket for the remaining seats.

There is no standard criteria that can be uniformly applied without making exceptions. The question is where to stop, once an exception is made in some cases for whatever reason. And ultimately, Mrs. Gandhi's name will have to be invoked by the party bosses to impose controversial personalities who have to be accommodated, in the party's larger interests.

**Measure of unity:** At one stage, the Congress (I) was quite apprehensive that those who are denied party ticket might walk over to NTR's side. But it is exuding greater confidence now that with all its internal squabbles, the party is going to fight these elections with a reasonable measure of unity. And it is to make doubly certain that the Congress (I) enters the fray with reassurance that the Central leadership is taking a direct interest, both in the organisation and conduct of the campaign.

CSO: 4600/1445

PRESS REPORTS MEETING OF CPI NATIONAL COUNCIL

Resolutions Released 1 Dec

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 2 Dec 82 p 9

[Text] HYDERABAD, Dec 1 (PTI)—The national council of the Communist Party of India, which is in session here since Monday, has hailed the Seventh Non-Aligned Summit to be held in New Delhi in March next and has appealed to the Indian people to join the nationwide campaign for its success.

In a resolution released to the press today, the council said that the initiatives of the non-aligned countries for peace and the prevention of nuclear war, for national liberation and for a new international economic order, had been of vital significance for the whole humanity.

For the last three years and more, under the chairmanship of President Fidel Castro, the non-aligned movement had registered new advances and victories, it said.

It accused the "United States imperialists" of attempting to divide and weaken the non-

aligned movement. "A vast campaign of lies had been unleashed all over the world in an attempt to reverse the course of the non-aligned movement", it said. Inside India, it added, the BJP and other rightist forces were collaborating in these "imperialist inspired" moves against the non-aligned movement.

The resolution said that in the face of the all-out offensive by imperialism and reaction on the New Delhi summit, it was necessary for the Indian people to mobilise a vast mass movement in defence of the policy of peace non-alignment and anti-imperialism. Noting that the all-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation (AIPSO) had already taken the initiative for building up a mass campaign for the success of the summit, the council extended the full support of the party for the campaign and also appealed for cooperation of other mass organisations.

The council by another resolution pledged its support to the struggle of the coal workers for scrapping of the present "unrepresentative" joint bi-partite committee for the coal industry and its reconstitution, finalisation of the issues pending since 1979 and opening of bi-partite negotiations on the charter of demands jointly presented by AITUC, CITU, HMS, BMS and others.

In a resolution reviewing the peace march organised by six parties on 4 October, the council felt that the march had brought the left parties closer to a common assessment and understanding and called for efforts to carry forward this common understanding through continuous dialogue.

Mr A B Bardhan, secretary of the national council, who released the resolutions at a news conference, said the council will take up for discussion today the forthcoming Assembly polls.

Rao: No Soviet Instructions

Calcutta THE SUNDAY STATESMAN in English 5 Dec 82 p 9

[Text] Hyderabad, Dec. 4.—Mr C. Rajeswar Rao, CPI general secretary, today denied claims by the External Affairs Minister, Mr P. V. Narasimha Rao, that "the Soviet leaders had asked the CPI to support Mrs Gandhi and the Congress (I)". The Soviet Union never interfered in the internal affairs of "other countries", he said.

However, Mr Rajeswar Rao said, the CPI appreciated Mrs Gandhi's foreign policy and the Soviet Union had been helping India ever since Independence.

The resolutions adopted by the CPI, whose national council had been in session here since Monday, do give the impression of a thaw in the CPI-Congress(I) relationship.

The CPI considered the coming non-aligned summit in Delhi a tribute to India's policy of peace. It blamed the USA for trying to divide and weaken the non-aligned movement.

Expressing concern over the deteriorating situation in Punjab, "which is a strategic border State", the national council in a resolution appealed to the Akali leaders to withdraw their agitation. The CPI reiterated its firm opposition to the demand for a separate Sikh State which will "emasculate the Centre and undermine national unity".

#### More Resolutions Released

New Dehli PATRIOT in English 5 Dec 82 p 4

[Text] HYDERABAD, Dec 4.

THE CPI National Council has welcomed the forthcoming nonaligned summit to be held in Delhi in March and described the development a tribute to India's policy of peace and nonalignment.

Releasing resolutions adopted at the four-day session of the National Council concluded here on Thursday, party general secretary C Rajeswara Rao said that the March summit was considered by the CPI very important as the US imperialists, directly and through their stooges, were trying to divide and weaken the nonaligned movement.

He said that the National Council was of the opinion that there has to be widest possible mobilisation of the people to safeguard and strengthen anti-imperialist content of the nonaligned movement. For this, Mr Rao said, the CPI has chalked out a programme of united mass action.

The National Council also reviewed the peace march jointly organised by the Left and demo-

cratic parties in Delhi on 4 October and noted the popular response it received.

It also adopted resolutions mourning the death of Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, CPI-M Politbureau member Promode Dasgupta, CPI leader and freedom fighter Sohan Singh Josh, Sheikh Abdullah, Mr K P S Menon and Acharya Vinoba Bhave.

Mr P K Vasudevan Nair was in the chair.

#### PUNJAB SITUATION

The National Council which discussed at length the Punjab situation and Centre-State relations said that the Prime Minister should work out a solution acceptable to all concerned as it was she who gave the award in 1970.

As far as Anandapur resolution was concerned, Mr Rajeswara Rao made it clear that the CPI was totally opposed to the "Sikhs a nation" theory.

The National Council urged all left, secular and democratic forces in the country in general and in Punjab in particular to

stand firmly for a just and principled solution of the issues involved to defend people's unity and national integration.

The resolution on the communal situation drew the attention to the role of Viswa Hindu Parishad, RSS, Jamati-Islami which were intentionally provoking communal riots. The resolution demanded that the Police Armed Constabulary in Uttar Pradesh and BMP in Bihar should be reorganised by including in them sufficient number of Muslims, Scheduled Castes, Adivasis and other weaker sections. It demanded a ban on RSS drills in public and reorganisation of the National Integration Councils.

The Council greeted all the young men and women from different countries of Asia who are here to take part in the ninth Asian and congratulated them on their creditable performance.

The council congratulated World Peace Council president Romesh Chandra on his receiving the UN gold medal award for his tremendous work in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa.

CSO: 4600/1446

## PUBLIC SECTOR RAPPED FOR LOW CAPACITY USE

Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Dec 82 p 7

[Text] NEW DELHI, Dec. 6.

Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Union Finance Minister, today expressed his concern over the losses incurred by some public sector enterprises and stressed that vigorous efforts should be made to improve their performance. He added that the level of capacity utilisation in a number of units had not been satisfactory and the nation cannot afford such idle capacities.

The Finance Minister, who was addressing the sixth meeting of the Standing Coordination Committee of the National Workshop on Higher Production and Productivity, organised by the Bureau of Public Enterprises (BPE), however commended the public sector as a whole for its much improved performance in physical terms and building up a brilliant managerial cadre.

**Profitability ratio up:** The gross profit made by the public sector enterprises had gone up from around Rs. 1,070 crores in 1978-79 to Rs. 2,482 crores in 1981-82. With the increase in gross profit, the profitability ratio went up from 7.6 per cent in 1979-80 to 11.6 per cent in 1981-82. Much of this increase is, however, accounted for by the petroleum sector, he said.

The Finance Minister said that investments in the central public sector enterprises have seen a sharp growth over the years. The capital employed has gone up from Rs. 13,970 crores in 1978-79 to Rs. 24,000 crores in the first half of the current financial year. The sectors which accounted for the major portion of the investment are steel, coal, oil, fertilizers and shipping.

The value of sales went up from Rs. 19,000 crores in 1978-79 to over Rs. 35,800 crores in 1981-82. There has been a three-fold increase in the number of persons employed in the sector in the decade from seven lakhs in 1971-72 to about 20 lakhs at present.

Mr. Mukherjee said that the Sixth Plan provided for a number of new projects in the public sector and it was very important to ensure the timely completion of these projects.

**Heavy industry record:** Mr. N. D. Tiwari, Union Minister for Industry, Steel and Mines, said the public sector units in the Department of Heavy Industry in his Ministry, after registering a growth of 23 per cent during 1981-82, had accepted, at his suggestion, a further growth target of 25 per cent during the current year.

now seems", he said, "they will exceed this ambitious target and, in fact, be able to make a profit of about Rs. 25 crores for the first time against the loss of over Rs. 30 crores last year".

Mr. Tiwari pointed out to the encouraging experience in the Bharat Heavy Electricals where more than 70 unit-level "quality circles" were already functioning. He suggested this concept at the unit productivity levels of all the public sector enterprises for achieving excellence in quality. He also suggested each public sector unit should have a "productivity audit" in terms of predetermined goals such as turnover, profit, capacity utilisation, value added per employee, etc. "I may add", he said, "that productivity audit is not intended to be a test of management skills; but only an aid to management in acting as a tool of self-appraisal."

**A turning point in 1981-82:** Mr. S. B. P. Patrabhirama Rao, Union Minister of State for Finance, said that 1981-82 was a turning point for the public sector units which, as a group, showed a net profit of Rs. 403.7 crores. He, however, pointed out while the net profit of the whole group has improved in the first half of this year from about Rs. 50 crores to Rs. 73 crores, there was a sharp deterioration in the second half.

This underlined the need for making special efforts in the remaining months. The analysis further showed that while the profit-making enterprises were able to increase their aggregate profit of Rs. 394.43 crores in April to September 1981 to Rs. 750.51 crores in April-September 1982, the increase of losses from Rs. 346 crores to Rs. 678 crores by the losing units was significant. "Here again", he said, "the trend of higher losses in the second quarter by the losing enterprises is disquieting when we view it in the context of certain financial reliefs given to some of the chronically losing enterprises."

He said the profitability has largely suffered owing to adverse performance in the steel, fertilizer, coal and textile sectors. Special efforts would be required in these undertakings.

"A stage has come," he said, "when we should have a close examination of the performance of the public enterprises

## PAPERS REPORT SIXTH PLAN TO FALL SHORT OF TARGET

Birla Institute Appraisal

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 29 Nov 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] THE Sixth Five Year Plan will fall short of its targeted growth rate of 5.2 per cent per annum primarily due to a lag in planned investment, according to a "mid-term appraisal" by the economic division of the Birla Institute of Scientific Research, reports PTI.

It projected the growth in GDP at 4 per cent per annum, with the total investment around Rs 129,300 crore against the target of Rs 158,710 crore (at 1979-80 prices) and public investment at Rs 68,112 crore against the target of Rs 84,000 crore.

According to the study, the most disturbing feature of the plan is a slowly growing agri-

cultural sector, where production has reached a "plateau." During the first three years of the Plan, as compared to the output levels achieved in 1978-79, output growth has been nil.

The study was carried out by Mr Vivek Bharati, senior economist of the institute.

The study said the shortfall in public investment had been mainly due to a substantial price rise in the first three years of the Plan which had eroded the quantum of real resources available to the Government for investment. On the assumption of a five per cent price rise in the current year and on the basis of wholesale price index trends, the extent of erosion in the first

three years would be as high as 34 per cent.

An analysis of the resources position of the Government points towards the gradual emergence of a serious resource crisis. Projections in the study showed that all the sectors will be affected significantly by the crisis, with the non-energy sector suffering more than the energy sector.

The study also projected a shortfall in private sector investment during the Plan. It would be Rs 61,187.5 crore or 18 per cent short of the target.

In regard to agriculture, the study found a slowdown despite an increase in irrigated area, increased area under high yield

varieties and increased fertilizer consumption, suggesting fall in productivity. Weather alone could not explain the reasons and certain growth-inhibiting factors had surfaced.

The study said that both rice and wheat production targets would be missed by over 3 million tonnes each and foodgrain production would reach a maximum of 144 million tonnes against a target of 151 million tonnes.

It suggested that the green revolution spurt showing signs of flattening out, new technological thrust should be imparted to the sector.

Under irrigation, the study projected an achievement of not more than 10 to 11 million hectares of additional potential against a target of 14 to 15 million. The utilizable potential would be only 9.7 million hectares.

An analysis of industrial production revealed that the 8.1 per cent growth achieved in 1981-82 was not likely to be repeated during the remaining years of the Plan owing to power constraints, shortfall in capacity creation and slow growth of demand.

Taking various factors into account, the likely growth rate of production during the plan would be around 5.5 to 6 per cent per annum against the target of 8 per cent. There would be noticeable shortfalls in core industries like steel, fertilizers and coal.

### Planning Commission Studies

Madras THE HINDU in English 1 Dec 82 p 7

[Text] NEW DELHI, Nov. 30.

Shortage of resources to the extent of about Rs. 3,000 crores, it is feared, will leave the Union Government no choice but to cut down the size of its Annual Plan for the Central sector for 1983-84 to about Rs. 14,000 crores against the projected outlay of Rs. 17,000 crores.

The additional resources required for implementing an annual plan outlay of Rs. 17,000 crores for the Sixth Plan are estimated at around Rs. 6,000 crores. But the additional resources are not expected to exceed Rs. 3,000 crores. If the Government limits its Central sector outlay to Rs. 14,000 crores, which is just Rs. 1,500 crores more than the outlay for 1982-83, in real terms the outlay for 1983-84 will be less than the previous year, owing to inflation.

The Planning Commission has estimated that if the physical targets laid down in the Sixth Plan document for 1980-85 are to be achieved, the public sector plan outlay will have to be stepped up by not less than Rs. 17,000 crores from Rs. 97,500 crores. This latest figure of Rs. 17,000 crores is much higher than the conservative estimate of Rs. 10,000 crores made in August last when the Prime Minister, Mrs. Gandhi, presided over a full meeting of the Planning Commission.

**Mid-term review deferred:** Yet another disconcerting development is the Planning Commission's postponement of a mid-term Plan review though it was earlier indicated that the review would be completed by September and the plan priorities redrawn to provide for higher investments for the key sectors of power, oil and railways. It is not known when the Commission would take up the review. The various divisions of the Commission have been carrying out sectoral mid-term appraisals, but these have not received any scrutiny by the Commission itself.

The Planning Commission is disturbed by the 13 per cent increase in the wholesale price index from January, 1981 to September 1982 and 19 per cent increase in the consumer price index for industrial workers. The Commission feels helpless over the absence of any mechanism by which there could be automatic adjustment of such price rises. It has not yet decided how this price can be "adjusted" and this is said to be delaying the launching of a mid-term review.

The purpose of the review will be to spell out certain harsh measures to protect the physical targets of the Plan from inflationary erosion. But the Commission does not know what useful purpose would be served by doing this unless the Government is prepared to take such measures.

CSO: 4600/1430

INDIA

GANDHI INTERVIEW WITH EGYPTIAN EDITORS NOTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 1 Dec 82 p 3

[Text] Prime Minister Indira Gandhi said on Tuesday that no system other than democracy would work in India but this was sought to be politically misused, reports PTI.

Democracy at the very best of times was a fragile system, she said quoting Sir Winston Churchill. "But we have nothing better", Mrs Gandhi added in an interview to Egyptian editors.

Mrs Gandhi said people were becoming more politically conscious. In this process many issues which were somewhat settled were being re-opened and were exploited politically.

"There is a special effort to create trouble", she said, adding among those who generally vote for the Congress--Muslims, Christians and Scheduled Castes and others--were deliberately provoked.

"One extremism fed on another. Many regional problems were now being brought up for political reasons".

All these, she said, had existed when she was out of power but no agitation was launched at that time. Even in Assam, there were elections in 1978 on an enlarged voters list but people voted and there were no complaints.

"All this shows how democracy is sought to be misused. However, in a country like India with linguistic diversity, no other system can work", she said.

Q: Does it affect the freedom of press?

Mrs Gandhi: No (no).

Asked what she thought of the outcome of the January poll in three States, the Prime Minister said: "of course we are going to win".

Mrs Gandhi answered questions on a number of subjects from domestic to the March summit of the nonaligned nations and Indo-US relations.

She was asked whether she was not worried that the nonaligned movement was facing many deviations. What did she propose to do to lessen the difference among the members of the movement?

Mrs Gandhi said: "We cannot take any concrete step. There has been pressure on the nonaligned from the very beginning. It increases at the time of every conference. But at the foreign Ministers' conference here (in Delhi) last year, we managed to steer clear of all our differences.

"At the forthcoming conference, we hope to have the cooperation of all", she said.

Asked what were the important issues troubling the movement, the Prime Minister said problems were troubling not only the nonaligned movement but also the whole human race. Even among the nonaligned there were bound to be differences. "We cannot have unanimity. After all each nation's attitude depended upon its geography and its historical situation.

"But our policy is to find an area of agreement and consensus and then enlarge it", she said.

Q: You met the new leadership in the Soviet Union. What will be the future of Indo-Soviet relations? Mrs Gandhi: Indo-Soviet relations are good. There is no reason why they should change.

To a question, she said she had met Soviet leader, Yuri Andropov for the first time.

CSO: 4600/1431

GANDHI 25 NOV SPEECH AT PANAJI MEETING REPORTED

Madras THE HINDU in English 26 Nov 82 p 6

[Excerpt] PANAJI, Nov. 25.

The Central Government has constituted a special cell to monitor the implementation of the 20-point economic programme in the States. Teams belonging to the cell visit different States unobtrusively for making an independent assessment of their performance. On the basis of such assessment further review is done with the Chief Minister concerned, the shortcomings analysed and suitable action taken, the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, told a public meeting (briefly reported) here yesterday.

She said the exercise was being done not with a view to finding fault but to ensuring that both the Centre and States joined hands in achieving the common goal of bettering the lot of the poor and downtrodden. She had visited several places in this connection but she had not come to Goa for this purpose.

The Prime Minister said there was a feeling that the programme was not being implemented properly in the States and that their performance was good only in patches. One of the main constraints was resources and it was a question of how to get the maximum benefit out of the available resources mobilised for the purpose. The Government was now developing the infrastructure to aid growth and the policy of industrial development of backward areas had been modified to give priority to areas which had no industrial activity whatsoever.

She said thanks to the farsighted policy of the Government, India had attained self-sufficiency in food production. Occasional imports were resorted only to build up a buffer stock.

"We don't have to go and beg for food any longer", she said.

**Phenomenal progress:** The phenomenal industrial progress had helped create such a favourable climate in the international arena that many foreign countries were coming forward to collaborate with India in industry.

The country's prestige had gone up considerably because of its consistent and meaningful foreign policy. There was confidence among foreign countries that India could repay debts easily.

Mrs. Gandhi felt the achievements of the country were not being properly publicised. Recently a former Minister of a neighbouring country told her how impressive the trade exhibition was and asked why not many both inside and outside the country knew much about it. The tendency in the country was to focus attention on the negative aspects ignoring the achievements. Party workers could play a role in letting the people know of the progress the country had made.

During her 30 minutes speech Mrs. Gandhi told the Goans how the concept of unity in diversity had been the cornerstone of the Government's policy from the beginning. Unity alone could ensure the steady progress of the country and, therefore, under no circumstances should efforts to weaken it be encouraged. She recalled that when there was a cry for merger of Goa with Maharashtra it was she who insisted on having the opinion of Goans taken on their future and did so.

CSO: 4600/1419

GANDHI ACTIVITIES ON VISIT TO GAO REPORTED

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 25 Nov 82 pp 1, 7

[Text] Prime Minister Indira Gandhi today reminded the people that every Indian has the right to seek a living anywhere in the country.

In an apparent reference to the recent riots between Goans and non-Goans in the port town of Vasco da Gama, Mrs Gandhi told a public meeting at the Campal Grounds here that everyone must remember that he was an Indian first. There was no scope for provincialism, she said.

People from neighbouring States came to Goa because there were jobs available in the Union Territory. This was bound to happen in a democracy, she added.

Mrs Gandhi said that though each area had a different cultural heritage, this did not mean that people from other areas should not come and enrich this culture with their own.

Mrs Gandhi appealed to the people to maintain discipline and work hard to make the country strong. She said that India was a great nation with different languages, religions and culture. She said the Congress-I worked for the progress of the country through the united efforts of the people.

She assured them that differences among different regions would be given consideration.

Statehood Issue

Mrs Gandhi told newsmen that the issue of Statehood for the Union Territory would be decided at the proper time after considering all aspects of the matter.

On the question of full-time Governor for Goa, the Prime Minister said the Government was looking for a suitable person.

She ruled out carving out "Vishal Gomantak" State by inclusion of disputed areas from Karnataka and some part of Maharashtra and said the States concerned would not agree.

To another question, she said there were no hurdles as such in the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, but there was a long list of languages awaiting inclusion.

Mrs Gandhi, who arrived here this morning on a day's visit, said that the nation faced economic problems and threats from outside.

She said the issue of poverty could not be solved by distributing money, but had to be met by creating economic infrastructure and that was being done by the Government through planning.

Mrs Gandhi pointed out that though the Opposition had criticised the first proposal to host the Ninth Asian Games, it was now a grand success, which had been lauded by various people.

#### Retreat Venue

Talking to newsmen later, she said she had come to examine the possibility of having the Commonwealth Government Heads' retreat in Goa. 'I have Goa very much in mind,' she added.

Mrs Gandhi went round the likely retreat venue Taj Holiday Village and also made an unscheduled helicopter hop to the city of Old Goa.

The Holiday Village is a luxury cottage complex of the Fort Aguada beach resort, while Old Goa--ten km from here--is famous the world over for its Catholic shrines of Bom Jesus.

Her visit is the first since she became Prime Minister again in 1980. She had last visited Goa with her father, Jawaharlal Nehru in 1963 one-and-a-half years after the territory's liberation from the Portuguese.

A 20-point 'chargesheet of corruption' against Goa's Pratapsing Rane Government was presented to Mrs Gandhi by the Opposition Maharashtra Gomantak Party (MGP) at the Cabo Raj Niwas, the Lt-Governor's official residence at Carazalem near here. The chargesheet refers to the recent 'atrocities' on non-Goans in Vasco.

CSO: 4600/1417

## CPI-M POLITBURO ISSUES STATEMENT ON PUNJAB

Madras THE HINDU in English 25 Nov 82 p 7

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Nov. 24.

Fearing that the stalemate in the talks between the Centre and the Akali Dal would strengthen Sikh extremists and lead to communal polarisation in Punjab, the CPI (M) today urged the Government to take a fresh initiative. It wanted early resumption of the talks which were "abruptly broken off on Nov. 19."

A statement, issued by the party Politburo, favoured the transfer of Chandigarh to Punjab (impliedly, without the simultaneous inclusion of the Fazilka-Abohar area into Haryana), appointment of a boundary commission to consider the question of disputed territories, reference of the Ravi-Beas waters agreement to a Supreme Court Judge and appointment of a committee to study the problem of Centre-State relations.

Because of the active involvement of Mr. Harkishen Singh Surjeet, MP and member of the Politburo in the mediatory effort, the CPI (M) statement was significant. The suggestions made by the CPI (M), tallied with the formulations of the former External Affairs Minister, Mr. Swaran Singh, who, as the Prime Minister's emissary, conducted talks with the Akalis. The Centre, however, was not enthusiastic about Mr. Swaran Singh's points.

**"White Paper on Sikh extremism demanded:** The CPI (M) condemned both the attack on the country house of the Punjab Education Minister, Mr. Harchand Singh Ajnala, and the harassment of Delhi-bound Sikh passengers in Punjab, Haryana and Rajasthan. It asked the Centre to come out with a White Paper on the anti-national character of the activities of Sikh extremists and denounced the killings by police under the pretext of encounters.

The Government, the party noted, accepted the non-secular demands of the Akalis but rejected the "democratic demands of the Punjabi people."

The CPI (M), the statement said, "has always held the view that Chandigarh should be incorporated in Punjab while giving financial

assistance to Haryana to build its capital in a place of its choice. But the Central Government, on one plea or another, has been refusing to concede this just demand, again providing grist to the mill of Sikh extremism."

"Similarly, the CPI (M) has been urging the Centre to set up a boundary commission to go into disputed territories and to recommend the settlement of the problem, on the basis of language and contiguity with village as the unit, but not on a religious and communal basis. Here again, the Government, without adhering to any democratic principle of deciding the issue on the basis of Punjabi-speaking and Hindi-speaking areas, is introducing the vicious principle of Hindu-Sikh communal basis for demarcating the disputed border."

**The river water dispute:** As regards the "hasty verdict of the Prime Minister on the river water dispute on the eve of the recent Assembly election in Haryana," it said the question should be referred to a Supreme Court Judge, by whose verdict the parties concerned would abide.

On Centre-State relations, as figuring in the Anandpur Sahib resolution, the statement said: "All democratic forces in the country are one with the Government in denouncing any effort to mix up religion with politics and raise any separatist demand like that of Khalistan. But the recent version of the Anandpur resolution, officially released by Sant Harchand Singh Longowal neither talks of the supremacy of Sikhs in Punjab nor does it make a territorial claim on other States. It simply raised the questions of more powers to the States and decentralisation of administration. These demands have been raised by different States and political parties. If the Government has some consideration for democratic opinion, it is necessary that it set up a committee or commission to study the problems of Centre-State relations in the light of the working of the Constitution till now, to strengthen the federal structure which will also strengthen the unity of the country."

CSO: 4600/1416

INDIA

CPI ANGRY OVER RAO ABSENCE FROM BREZHNEV FUNERAL

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 24 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 23.--The decision of the CPI general secretary, Mr Rajeswara Rao, not to attend Brezhnev's funeral but ask Mr N. K. Krashan, a Central secretariat member, to represent him and the party in Moscow has reportedly "angered" the party leaders.

As a protocol, Mr Rao as the party's general secretary should have gone to Moscow especially when it was known that Mrs Gandhi and other world leaders would be attending the funeral.

Mr Rao's decision not to go to Moscow is considered by Communist leaders "as something very serious". As one senior CPI leader put it: "Mr Rao showed great disrespect to Brezhnev".

The decision is also being considered as "inexplicable". At the time of Brezhnev's death, Mr Rao was in Vijayawada, busy addressing public meetings. The CPI headquarters at Ajay Bhavan here had reportedly sent frantic messages to him to reach Delhi immediately and proceed to Moscow. Not only did he not come to Delhi, but also said he would not like to attend the funeral ceremony.

According to CPI sources here, Mr Rao reportedly maintains that the Soviet Communist Party's support to Mrs Gandhi and her Government runs counter to the CPI's adopted policy.

According to reports received by CPI leaders from Moscow, Mr Rao's absence at the funeral was noted with "anger" by the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party.

Mr Rao's "strange conduct" is expected to be raised by leaders at the coming meeting of the party's national council in Hyderabad on November 27.

That Mr Rao should have raised his differences with the Soviet Communist Party leadership at the time of Brezhnev's funeral has surprised the CPI(M) Politburo.

CSO: 4600/1411

ANDHRA CHIEF MINISTER'S TROUBLES WITH DELHI TOLD

Madras THE HINDU in English 23 Nov 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 22.

Amidst their preoccupation with the Akali problem, the Congress (I) leaders at the Centre were taken aback by rumours from Hyderabad that the Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister Mr. K. Vijayabhaskara Reddi, had either resigned or threatened to resign in protest against the recent Cabinet expansion and PCC (I) formation ignoring his advice.

But Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddi, who has been here for the last four days, described the rumours as "totally baseless and mischievous".

The Chief Minister explained that he came to Delhi to attend the opening ceremony of the Asian Games and stayed on for a few more days to see some of the events. He would have returned earlier if Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had not cancelled his programme to tour some of the districts in the State.

Apart from seeing the Games, he said he had availed of the opportunity to meet Mrs. Gandhi, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, Mr. N. D. Tiwari and others in the normal course. There was no question at all of his protesting against the recent decisions, much less threatening to resign, since these were no longer any major issues.

Further speculation: But the sudden arrival of the PCC (I) President, Mr. G. Venkataswamy, from Hyderabad this morning and his meeting with the Chief Minister only added to the speculation in Andhra circles that something had happened or was happening to make Mr. Vijayabhaskara Reddi think of quitting. The strong contradiction by the Chief Minister was followed by similar denials by some of the Central leaders whom he had met in the last two or three days to discuss the political situation in the State.

The Chief Minister and the PCC (I) President who had separate meetings with the Central leaders will be returning to Hyderabad tomorrow by the morning flight.

It is an open secret that the Chief Minister did not want to expand his Cabinet and was not happy over the Centre's advice to some whom he had excluded earlier from his team. But he did not make an issue of it other than expressing dissatisfaction over the way he was made to take them back.

As regards the formation of the Executive Committee of the PCC (I), the Central leadership has not crowned itself with glory by foisting an elephantine body of 96 members, with 12 Vice-Presidents, 11 General Secretaries and 11 Secretaries besides nearly 20 permanent invitees. The only saving grace was that the High Command in its wisdom did not decide to have half a dozen Presidents as well to qualify the committee for inclusion in the Guinness Book of World Records, as one Central leader himself put it.

Tactical mistake: But then the Chief Minister made the tactical mistake of pressing for the inclusion of a number of new entrants who were clearly unacceptable to the Centre. The result was that he missed the opportunity to have a final say either in the composition of this jumbo Executive Committee of the PCC (I) or the choice of the District Congress (I) Committee Presidents.

The A.P. Congress (I) is thus finding itself in the extraordinary position with a divided or at any rate not a united Cabinet, an unwieldy and unmanageable PCC (I) and the DCC (I)s dominated by different groups on the eve of the Assembly elections. There is a lot of sympathy for the Chief Minister, at least in some sections of the party leadership, which realise the incongruity of the whole situation, although there are others who feel he cannot escape his share of responsibility for letting the interested parties in Delhi create all this confusion.

CSO: 4600/1409

MINISTER WANTS BALANCED GROWTH OF SMALL INDUSTRIES

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 26 Nov 82 p 9

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 25.--The Union Industry Minister, Mr Narayan Dutt Tiwari, today called upon industrial organizations to simplify procedures and adopt a development approach in the field of small-scale industry, reports UNI.

Inaugurating the permanent display of prototype development and training of the National Small Industries Corporation, Mr Tiwari said the Government was aware of the problems and was determined to take effective steps to remove bottlenecks in the way of balanced growth.

The Minister said there should be greater coordination between different organizations of small-scale entrepreneurs. There should be a single platform from which these organizations would be able to project their problems to the Government and also educate the public on their achievements.

Mr Tiwari called for greater contact between the State governments and Central industrial organizations like the NSIC to ensure greater cooperation and awareness of the progress being made in the country and abroad.

Mr Tiwari also stressed the need for greater reliance upon indigenous technology especially in view of foreign exchange constraints and "the weak financial base of the majority of small-scale industrialists". He said the prototypes should be very reasonably priced.

Earlier, the NSIC chairman, Mr J. S. Juneja, said the "key to development of the large-scale industry is the small-scale industry". The corporation had, therefore, adopted a "single-window" assistance approach, providing services ranging from identifying buyers, negotiating contracts, export documentation work and financial assistance to arranging the despatch of goods.

Mr Juneja said machines worth more than Rs 130 crores had been supplied to small units all over the country. During the Sixth Plan period, it was planned to supply machines worth Rs 60 crores and it was hoped that this would generate employment opportunities for about 200,000 people.

The NSIC also planned this year to market more than Rs 9 crores worth of products like hosiery items, hand-made paper, tapioca starch, electric fans, air-pollution control equipment and elastic bands.

Apart from this, the NSIC had supplied 52 turnkey projects to Tanzania and the supply of projects to Nigeria, Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, Indonesia, Zambia, and Mauritius were in the pipeline, he said.

CSO: 4600/1418

INDIA

ANDHRA PRADESH, TRIPURA, KARNATAKA POLL DATES GIVEN

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, November 26.

The election commission today announced that elections to the state assemblies of Andhra Pradesh, Karnataka and Tripura would be held simultaneously on January 5.

In the case of Andhra Pradesh and Karnataka, the elections have been advanced by more than two months, since the terms of the two assemblies expire on March 14 and 16 respectively.

In both these states, the Congress(I) has a two-third majority, but the supremacy of the ruling party has been challenged in Andhra Pradesh by a new regional party, Telugu Desam, led by the actor-politician, Mr. N. T. Rama Rao.

In Karnataka, the Congress (I) is likely to face stiff opposition from dissidents, who left the party in different stages, and other parties.

In Tripura, the elections are due since the assembly's term ends on January 19. The ruling party in the eastern state, the CPM, does not seem to face any challenge from any quarter.

The commission, however, did not announce the elections to the Assam and Meghalaya assemblies though in the case of Assam it is due before March 18 next, the assembly having been dissolved a year ago from that date. The term of the Meghalaya assembly also expires around that time.

The Union government is yet to take a decision on the Assam assembly elections with negotiations still going on with the agitation leaders on the question of disfranchisement of "foreigners". A decision, however, is expected to be taken in the near future.

The commission has fixed the date for filing of nominations on December 11, the scrutiny of papers on December 13 and the last date for withdrawals on December 15.

PTI adds: The notification calling for the fresh elections in these three states will be issued on December 4.

A total of 5,23,42,953 voters in the three states are slated to go to the polls in the "mini general election" to choose their representatives in their state assemblies.

Of them, 3,13,72,809 voters, including 1,58,47,290 women, are slated to exercise their franchise in Andhra Pradesh for the 294-member state assembly.

Similarly 1,98,36,030 voters including 97,38,964 women, are enlisted to elect their representatives to the 224-member Karnataka assembly. In Tripura, 11,34,114 voters are slated to go to the polls to elect their representatives to the 60-member house.

Karnataka has been somewhat taken by surprise in the announcement that the state assembly elections will be held on January 5. The ruling Congress (I) and the opposition parties have been generally preparing themselves for the elections normally due in February. The preponement of the date was not anticipated.

Just a day back, the chief minister, Mr. R. Gundu Rao, had hinted to his partymen that the elections would take place in the first or second week of February. He now appears to have reconciled himself to the advancement of the date, as he told the assembly. Indeed, he said, the earlier the poll, the better. A long gap created only difficulties.

In both the houses, shocked opposition members put keen questions on the circumstances leading to the fixing of the election date.

CSO: 4600/1420

GANDHI TELLS POSITION ON AKALI PROBLEM

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Nov 82 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, November 26 (PTI):

The Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, said here today that the government was prepared to adopt any course to find a solution to the Akali problem without causing any hardship to anybody.

Releasing a set of Sikh religious books brought out by the Delhi Sikh gurudwara parbandhak committee, Mrs. Gandhi said the Centre had accepted the religious demands of the Akalis. But they had added more demands which involve other states and without consulting them a decision could not be taken.

While trying to solve their problems, there was need to look after the interests of others also, the Prime Minister said.

Mrs. Gandhi said in the meantime they started the morcha and at that time they said they would not talk at all.

The Prime Minister said all problems had to be looked at with a long-term view. The views of the Sikhs living outside Punjab should also be ascertained.

She said when the question of creation of a "Punjabi subha" was there, the government had accepted the recommendations of the committee headed by Sardar Hukum Singh.

The Prime Minister pointed out there was no morcha or agitation for any demand when the Akali Dal was in power in the state.

Calling for a strong Centre, Mrs. Gandhi said if the Centre was weak anyone could create problems. Something could be done for the people only if the country was strong.

She said in reality there was no quarrel between the Centre and the states.

CSO: 4600/1420

EXCISE CONCESSIONS ANNOUNCED TO ENCOURAGE PRODUCTION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Nov 82 p 21

[Text] New Delhi, November 28 (UNI).

The Centre has announced yesterday a new scheme of excise duty concession to encourage increased production of goods during 1982-83.

The concession will be in the form of credit, after April 1, 1983 and can be utilised towards payment of duty on any excisable goods cleared by the factory, an official release says.

Small scale units which are now getting excise duty exemption based on previous year's clearance are also eligible for the concession under this scheme.

In respect of goods of which the clearances are to be compared in terms of weight, volume or number the concession would be applicable to clearances in excess of 110 per cent of clearance during the period March 1, 1981 to February 28, 1982.

In respect of goods of which the clearances are to be compared in terms of value the concession would be applicable to clearances in excess of 120 per cent of the clearances during the period March 1, 1981 to February 25, 1982.

In respect of the commodities which are chargeable to duty on ad valorem basis and where effective rate of duty is 20 per cent and below, the concession would be 20 per cent of the duty paid on the excess clearance. In all other cases the concession would be ten per cent of the duty paid on the excess clearance.

The release said the scheme was not applicable to factories from which the specified goods were cleared for the first time on or after April 1979 or from which no clearances were affected during the period between 1979-80.

The scheme announced by the finance minister, Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, covered 38 tariff items which include some basic raw materials, other important industrial inputs and certain finished products, adds PTI.

CSO: 4600/1424

CONGRESS-I APPRECIATES CPI-M STAND ON ASSAM

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 23 Nov 82 p 16

[Text]

CENTRAL Congress (I) leaders are said to have appreciated the strongly-worded resolutions and speeches at the recent conference of the CPI(M)'s peasant wing at Midnapore against the divisive forces in Punjab and Assam, according to a West Bengal Congress (I) source.

It is pointed out that there have been quite a few meetings in Delhi between the Congress (I) and the CPI(M) and CPI leaders whose views on the Assam issue are similar to those of the Congress (I). The matter was mentioned at the recent meeting between Mr Jyoti Basu and the Union Finance Minister, Mr Pronab Mukherjee, in Calcutta on Sunday.

Congress (I) central leaders are perturbed over the situation in Assam where continuation of President's Rule beyond January 18 will be illegal and where the Assembly elections are due in February. They have noted that the CPI(M), specially leaders like Mr Jyoti Basu, have played a significant role against Assam agitators and there has been some

cooperation from the Leftists to resolve the Assam tangle.

Two possible solutions are talked about in the Congress (I) circle. The first is to bring a Constitutional Amendment Bill in the Lok Sabha for the extension of President's Rule in Assam for another year. The Leftists have their reservations about such a move because they fear this will give a handle to the ruling party all over the country.

The second move is to call before January 18 a short session of the Assembly, which is not yet dissolved and after a break of a few days, dissolve it and go in for another spell of President's Rule. Here the Congress (I) in Assam needs the cooperation from the Leftists who share the Congress (I)'s views on the Assam agitation.

Among those Congress (I) leaders who are negotiating with other political parties to resolve the Assam tangle are Mr Pronab Mukherjee; Mr Viswa Narayan Singh, Minister for Parliamentary Affairs; Mr P. C. Sethi, Union Home Minister; and Mr Venkatraman, Defence Minister.

CSO: 4600/1408

ADDITIONAL FOODGRAIN IMPORTS MAY BE NEEDED

Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Dec 82 p 16

[Text]

NEW DELHI, Dec. 5. The country may have to go in for additional foodgrains imports in the near future if it has to maintain the bufferstocks at reasonable level and also ensure smooth running of the public distribution system.

According to a review of Indian economy for the quarter ending September 1982 by the National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) the imports may be necessary even if the rabi crop is good.

The NCAER notes that owing to erratic monsoon for the second year in succession, with droughts in some areas and floods in others, the kharif production in the current year would be much short of the target.

The contracting share of rice in the overall stock position would disturb the distribution pattern. It could be

overcome through imports of rice, but the Council expressed fear that the scope for such an operation was limited.

Taking stock of the total agricultural scene, the NCAER said though the setback to kharif would be significant, in the areas with deficient rainfall the rabi crops would also be affected.

Referring to industrial output, the review says the growth rate in 1982-83 would be much lower than the 8.6 per cent achieved in 1981-82. The silver lining, however, is the continued growth in certain key industries such as coal, power, cement and fertilizers. The state of industrial relations, which does not appear to be satisfactory may cast a shadow on industrial output in the coming months. — PTI

CSO: 4600/1449

INDIA

PLANS FOR SECOND ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION TOLD

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Nov 82 p 4

[Text] November 22: A 27-member team will set out from Goa on the second Indian expedition to Antarctica by the end of this month. The vessel, "Polar Circle," which will carry the expedition team, is expected at Goa in the next few days.

Dr. S. Z. Qasim, secretary to the department of ocean development, today told THE TIMES OF INDIA that the ship would have a constant communication link with the headquarters at Goa via the INMARSAT, a commercial communication satellite.

India has borrowed the service of this satellite at a substantial cost so that the expedition team can have direct telephone and telex link with the country round the clock. During the first expedition last year this facility was not available.

Also, the team will camp in Antarctica at least for two months. It plans to leave behind some more equipment this time and will retrieve the data already recorded.

Dr. Qasim said the complexity of experiments would be enhanced during two more expeditions in the next couple of years and a permanent research station might be set up once our scientists were sufficiently acclimatised to the Antarctic climate. India's progress in this direction was being keenly watched by the rest of the world, he said.

A woman member is most likely to be included in the next expedition as a large number of women have shown interest in the project, according to Dr. Qasim.

Mr. Louis D'Cruz, a senior scientific assistant from the Indian Institute of Geomagnetism, Bombay, has been included in the expedition. In addition to conducting magnetic field studies, the IIG has also planned a "scintillation experiment" for collecting data on the characteristics of Antarctica's ionosphere.

CSO: 4600/1406

## MORE REPORTAGE ON INDIAN ANTARCTIC EXPEDITION

### Departure for Antarctica

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 2 Dec 82 p 9

[Text] Panaji, December 1 (UNI): A 28-member team of scientists and doctors set sail from Mormugoa port early this morning on a 60-day expedition to the icy continent of Antarctica.

The team, led by Mr. V. U. Raina, director of the Geological Survey of India, will conduct various experiments, many of them having a bearing on the weather conditions in India.

This is the second Indian expedition to the frozen continent. The first one had reached there in January.

The team left aboard MV "Polar Circle", which is expected to make its first halt at Mauritius next week before proceeding to its destination.

The director of the National Institute of Oceanography (NIO), Mr. V. K. V. R. Vardachari, visited the vessel yesterday and had a chat with the members of the expedition. Another dignitary who blessed the mission at Mormugao port was the Goa chief minister, Mr. Pratapsing Rane.

The expedition will keep in contact with the NIO in Goa and the department of ocean development in New Delhi through telephone and telex lines established by specially hired commercial satellite Inmarsat.

The Antarctica mission has representatives from 12 government of India organisations and scientific bodies, besides pilots, doctors and engineers drawn from the army, navy and the air force.

### Expedition in Perspective

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by N. N. Raina]

[Text] FOR the second time in our history is on their way to the continent land kilometres of the Indian Ocean. A group of 21 Indians of Antarctic, across ten thousand Ocean. Eleven out of them are

scientists in the disciplines of geology, glaciology, meteorology, and biology. Others are medical experts, technicians, and other aids. Being better equipped with instruments and communication facilities this time, the team intends to spend two months on the continent, as against ten days of the previous trip. This experience, it is expected, will take us a long way towards setting up eventually a permanent manned research station on the icy continent that bears the south-pole nearly at its centre.

#### A HISTORIC ADVENTURE

The first expedition landed there on Jan 9 this year, and spent ten days there. Throughout their long voyage of 35 days from Goa to Antarctic, the scientists carried on experimentation including balloon flights for meteorological observations, position fixing of a ship on the high seas, echograms to draw up a profile of the sea bottom, continuous records of magnetic intensity and its anomalies, radiopropagation and noise level measurement of aerosol to quantify pollution at different distances from the shores, and so on. Such experiments were also carried out later on the Antarctic during their stay there. An unmanned weather station, Dakshin Gangotri with a computer cassette for recording, a product of purely Indian effort, was left there to take recordings, being powered by Solar batteries. The new expedition will pick up the data tape, and examine the working of the whole set-up during their intended two month's stay on the continent.

All these exploits are landmarks in our history. Except in certain coastal areas, by and large traditionally we shunned the sea. Visitors from far off places often landed on our coast, as if from nowhere. We took ages to comprehend who they were, and what motivated them to come here. For this self-centred smugness our people have paid a heavy price. Our physical, moral and intellectual vitality was adversely affected by stagnation. This made us easy prey to physical and cultural aggression by imperialism.

It is only in recent times that we have made a real start in the struggle for extricating ourselves from an age old marsh.

#### BUILDING OUR OCEAN EXPERTISE

For an independent nation it is natural to worry about its environs. This needs intensive study. In this spirit we did participate in the International Indian Ocean Expedition (IIOE) from 1961 to 1966. The experience thus gained led to the establishment of the National Institute of Oceanography. This was set up in Delhi in 1966, and later shifted to Goa in 1969. Today this institute has seven divisions at the headquarters viz. physical oceanography, biological, chemical and geological oceanography, ocean engineering, oceanographic instrumentation planning and data. With a staff strength of about 450 it runs three regional centres: at Cochin for biological oceanography in Bombay for pollution control and Waltair for marine geophysics. The ocean going research ship 'Gaveshani' operated by it is a ship of 1900 tonnes displacement and was built in Calcutta. The setting up of the Department of Ocean studies with a director of the rank of Secretary to the Government, marks a further consolidation of the same process.

#### ANTARCTIC TREATY

The continent of Antarctic was discovered only in early nineteenth century being the last such discovery. It has come under intensive study only after 1959 when, following the success of the UN sponsored International Geophysical year in 1958, twelve major nations signed a treaty on the scientific study of the Antarctic. The preamble affirmed "It is in the interests of mankind that Antarctica shall continue for ever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes, and shall not become the scene or object of international discord... that the freedom of scientific investigation in Antarctica accords with the interests of science.. and furthers the purposes and principles of the UN charter".

These twelve nations include US and the USSR, and also two

developing nations, namely Chile and Argentina. Five more have joined since, but do not have the same status as the original twelve who form a sort of an exclusive club, at least for the duration of the treaty, that is till 1991. Meanwhile, others have the chance to secure the membership provided that they can furnish proof of their sustained scientific interest in the continent to qualify for a status of a Consultant in Antarctic affairs. The five members who have joined the twelve after 1959 also do not have this status as yet. We will no doubt be very unwise not to aspire for full consultant status when we have so much more reason for interest in what happens in this vast continent, separated from us merely by the expanse of the Indian ocean.

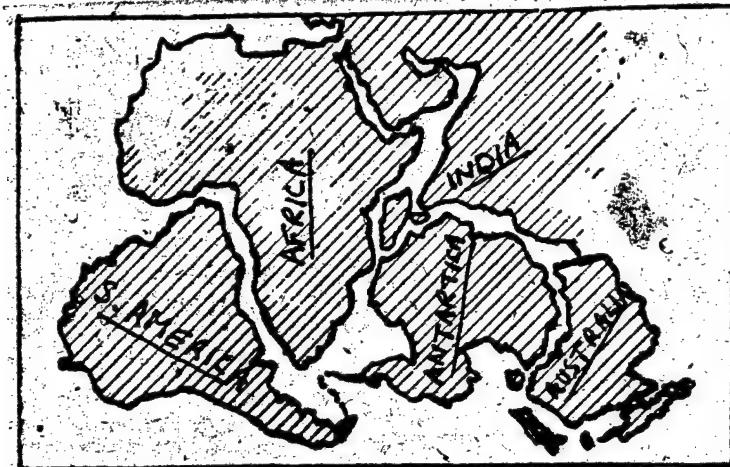
On the occasion of the first landing of Indian scientists our prime minister remarked:

"The Indian ocean links India to Antarctica, and the entire area is of deep interest to us for whom ocean studies are of vital importance.... This (landing) is the fulfilment of my long-standing wishes.. the study of Antarctica, apart from being of immense scientific interest should also be of great economic value."

#### U.S. UNHAPPY

However, the New York Times was suspicious, and made the enigmatic comment: "This raises political questions about India's ultimate intentions" Mr. Tucker Scully, an official at the U.S. State Department, was quoted by the Times as saying that he did not know if there was a political motive behind the expedition.

What can possibly be causing so much concern to the self-appointed "guardians of this globe"? No doubt the US government believes that Indian ocean is its Business and not of the three dozen odd littoral states for whom they have nothing but contempt. The emphasis laid by our government on ocean studies, and staking its claims on the exclusive economic zone is not to their liking. But something which may have caused real alarm in US is the achievement of our Oceanography Research ship 'Gaveshini'. On June 26, 1981 our experts on this ship scooped up a few hundred grams of polymetallic nodules from the bed of the Indian ocean, 4500 metres deep. Only six most advanced nations



Gondwanaland showing India, Antarctica, Australia, Africa and South America forming a common land mass

in the world are known to have achieved this feat. Its full significance has to be understood in the light of certain recent discoveries in the field of ocean studies. These discoveries have made the Indian ocean the centre of attention of the gigantic octopuses called Transnational Corporations, out to corner the dwindling resources of world's scarce materials.

#### **WEALTH ON OCEAN BED: A NEW GOLD RUSH?**

On the bed of the Indian ocean potato-size polymetallic nodules have been discovered only recently. These patches have been found to be fairly thick in density. Just one square metre is found to yield anything from 2 to 20 kilograms of these nodules, and can be collected merely by scooping out. These nodules are found to yield 10 to 20 per cent of iron, manganese, aluminium, 20 to 40 per cent of Silicon, 0.1 to 1.8 per cent of cobalt, and appreciable quantity of zinc, nickel, copper, chromium, cadmium, molybdenum, titanium, vanadium, zirconium, lead, and even gold. Deep ocean basins are estimated to contain one to two trillion tonnes of the polymetallic nodules, the Indian ocean being richer than the Pacific ocean in this respect. What is more, they keep on accumulating at a rate estimated to lie between ten and hundred million tonnes every year. The US based corporations have already invested about 30 billion dollars in the technology of deep sea mining. It is this newly found colossal gold mine in the ocean bed which has

given a fresh spurt to the expansion of naval power by the US and its NATO allies. This also accounts for the seemingly irrational attitude of the US in the UN Conference on the Law of the Seas, as also the concentration of their attention with special aggressiveness on the Indian Ocean.

It is to be noted that the nodules scooped up by our scientists are from an area falling within our exclusive economic zone i.e., within 200 nautical miles of our territory. In this connection our Prime Minister observed: 'The existence of polymetallic nodules in the sea bed, on a large scale, is of great significance especially because of limited resources of these metals on land. The survey and exploration of these has been identified as a major thrust area of research.'

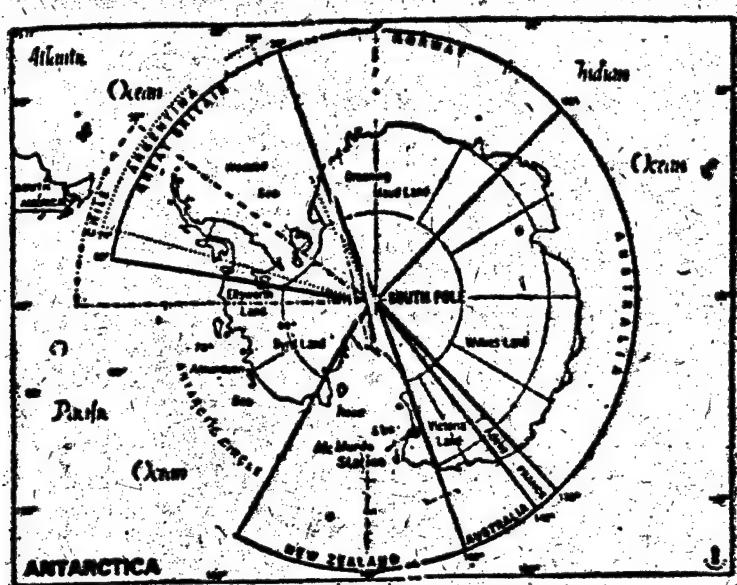
The new emphasis in our policies on developing ocean studies, and expansion of such activities is certainly not to the liking of the guardians of the Multinational Corporations. Much less would they be pleased at India being recognised now as a pioneer in sea-bed mining.

#### **IMPACT OF ANTARCTICA**

Although ten thousand kilometres of the Indian ocean separate our southern coast from the Antarctic, it still manages to be an important factor in shaping our climate. Antarctica is a huge continent, nearly four and a half times as large as the Indian union constituting about one tenth of the global land surface. It is all covered with snow to an average

depth of just under 2 kilometres. This thick ice layer, comprising 90 per cent of all ice and snow on the earth, represents 70 per cent of all existing fresh water. If it melts down the ocean levels are expected to rise by 150 to 200 feet, submerging New York, London, Tokyo, Calcutta, Bombay, and much else. For nearly six months when we have summer this huge continent remains in complete or near darkness with temperature reaching minus 40 to minus 70 degrees celcius. A Soviet team recorded even minus 80 degrees in 1960. For six months it has summer and no dark nights. This coincides with our winter. The yearly precipitation is negligibly small, but high velocity winds abound. This is why the continent is referred to as a 'White Desert', or a 'Continent of Blizzards'. The ocean all around it is very rough, and accounts for such names as 'furious fifties' and 'roaring forties', the numbers referring to 'latitude'.

Antarctic is truly a huge heat sink, with considerable cooling effect on the globe. The interaction between Antarctic ice and the oceans is critical to the circulation of energy via the oceans and its interaction with the atmosphere. Besides, very cold deep sea currents originating around it reach far to the north in each of the three major oceans. This has led the scientists to believe that studies on Antarctic are vital for the understanding of the climate of the world. Most of all such studies are expected to contribute significantly to the understanding



of the formation and movement of monsoon clouds on which our economy is so critically dependent. A permanent meteorological station in the Antarctic is expected to go a long way in achieving this objective.

#### ANTARCTIC STUDIES

Antarctic ice contains within it, and under it, an untampered record of happenings over 40 to 50 million years during which it is believed to have been accumulating ice, layer over layer to reach its present depth. All the flora and fauna that existed before ice started accumulating, and all the particles that came down with snow during this period, including radio-active fall out, Strontium 90, Cesium-137 from nuclear blasts of the last 3 or 4 decades, together with particles coming from outer space, particularly solar wind which have an easier access to the magnetic poles, are either preserved in the various ice layers, in proper sequence or have left traces along

their tracks which can in principle be studied for information about the original particle. Information about solar flares of the past, and geomagnetic field may be deducible from such study. The tremendous significance of the fossils dug out from under the ice has already been realized by the tentative conclusion, first suggested by the scientists of our Geological Survey of India, that Antarctica, Australia and our Deccan plateau got separated from each other only 60 to 70 million years ago, and that even African and South American continent were joined to it some 200 million years earlier. This is the theory of Gondwanaland which has received much support among experts. Prior to the successive earth-breaks the flora and fauna of each constituent would be similar. After Antarctica separated from Australia and Deccan further development of species on it came practically to a dead stop because of cold and accumulating ice. It thus provides us with a unique reference base in evolution to un-

derstand the changes that have taken place during this period of time under different climatic conditions.

#### OUR ANTARCTIC FUTURE

All these possibilities provided the background to the Antarctic Treaty of 1959 which is one of the extraordinary events of the post World War II period when common interests of mankind were held to be uppermost. But the discovery of valuable minerals, particularly petroleum and gas had tended to alter this atmosphere during the last few years. There is a serious danger of the third world countries being excluded when the conditions are ripe for the economic exploitation of the vast new resources being discovered on the continent and near its coast. We must see to it that our own claims on resources in what is virtually our backyard do not go by default. As our Prime Minister remarked, there is 'no reason why part of the world should be reserved for the rich nations.'

DEFENSE MINISTER REPORTS ON INDO-BANGLADESH BORDER

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 24 Nov 82 p 6

[Text] Gauhati, Nov 23 (UNI)--Defence Minister R Venkataraman and Home Minister P C Sethi today said that infiltration across the border in the Goalpara sector of Assam had been curbed by the Government taking effective measures.

After a joint inspection of the 97-km long Indo-Bangladesh border in the sector with the Assam movement leaders, the two Ministers told newsmen here that the anti-infiltration measures were 'better' than those on the western border of the country.

Replying to a question the Home Minister said construction of a permanent wall along the border to stop infiltration was neither feasible nor a unilateral decision on it was possible.

He ruled out creation of a habitation free zone along the border.

To another question he said they had visited the border areas on a request by the movement leaders made at the last tripartite talks in Delhi.

Mr Sethi also dismissed as baseless the charge of the agitation leaders that BSF reinforcements had been rushed to border areas to cover up the weakness of the Government.

The Ministers said they visited Sonarghat, Chatrasal, Dhubri and Bhodor Char areas in the Goalpara sector of the Assam border.

In a statement read at the news conference Mr Sethi said at present the BSF was manning 21 border outposts over a stretch of 97 km on the border, out of which 47 km were land borders and 55 km riverine borders.

Five service companies had been deployed along the border to increase the strength and one company and a platoon of border wing Home Guards provided to the outposts.

The Union Ministers were accompanied by Special Secretary Home P P Nayyar, Joint Secretary K M L Chabra, BSF Director General Birbal Nath and Assam Governor's Adviser R V Subramaniam.

Mr Sethi said no decision had yet been taken regarding the holding of elections in Assam.

Mr Sethi also said he had not come with any new proposal for the solution of the foreign nationals issue.

The movement leaders, who accompanied the ministers, were AASU president Prafulla Kumar Mahanta, general secretary Bhrigu Kumar Phukan, two advisers--Nagen Sarma and Lalid Rajkhowa and two AAGSP conveners--Biraj Sarma and Atul Bora.

CSO: 4600/1413

## HOW TO MEET 'THREAT' OF PAKISTANI PLANES DISCUSSED

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 29 Nov 82 p 8

[Article by Ashley J. Tellis]

[Text] PAKISTAN'S acquisition of

F-16s on a U.S. security assistance package has assumed an overwhelming symbolism both to Pakistan and to India — to Pakistan, as the *sine qua non* of U.S. credibility, and to India as the newest high-performance threat. Critics who unambiguously disclaim the existence of such a threat, holding out assurances that 40 F-16s are asymmetrically matched by India's 3:1 superiority, forget that the Pakistan Air Force considers the present deployment a 'baseline' minimum required military capability.

Also forgotten is that in the event of hostilities, the Pakistani air force can be augmented by Saudi war planes, especially when PAF pilots are already manning Saudi aircraft and training Saudi personnel.

Lest economic considerations be forgotten, Saudi assistance towards the F-16 purchase allows not only for weapon procurement at limited opportunity costs, but, more importantly, also allows for training on complex U.S. equipment which the Saudis buy, at little cost to Pakistan and ahead of the time when Pakistan may choose to purchase such equipment.

## Phenomenal Range

The F-16, which was created for the USAF requirement is an extremely agile aircraft, based on 'energy manoeuvrability' principles, capable of high load limits (9g) and, surprising in an air combat fighter, an extremely long range of 900 nm. on internal fuel, extendable to 2,100 nm. with just two external fuel tanks! Flowing from this phenomenal range, the F-16 has a secondary air-to-surface capability, albeit with degraded range

(500 nm.), delivering payloads of upto 7,000 kg., mostly of conventional free fall munitions, as it is unequipped with specialised delivery systems common to interdictio-strike aircraft.

Pakistan's F-16s will be based at three locations: one, at Gwadar near Karachi, another near its geographic centre and the third, near Peshawar. Its static calculated threat profile, if based at Karachi, allows penetration upto Mangalore on counterair missions, or upto Pune on air-to-surface missions with weapon load. Of all the factors in an air-to-surface mode, range alone seems threatening, but the fact that it has no terrain avoidance systems, cannot deliver specialised payloads and has no Night/Aderse Weather surface capabilities currently makes tremendous demands on its pilots, and this cannot but be a source of satisfaction and safety to us.

India has, correctly, adopted a systems-embedded air defence strategy to deal with the projected F-16 threat by deploying the Air Defence Ground Environment System incorporating early warning radars, redundant communications links and data displays, interfaced with our SAM squadrons, command echelons and interceptor squadrons. To counter the fascination for lo-lo incursive profiles that seek to avoid radar detection, India is to license produce from Thomson-CSF, the TRS 2210 Matador 3D, S-Band Radar, both in its fixed and mobile versions, incorporating both surveillance and Identification Friend or Foe interrogation.

This, it is to be hoped, would lead to technology acquisition of the follow-on TRS 2230/2215

S-Band planar antenna array-equipped radar, with its formidable surveillance envelope and random frequency transmission that eludes electronic 'finger printing', a certainty to be planned for in view of Pakistan's interest in the E-2C. Negotiations are already under way for the acquisition of the successful Skysuard Fire Control System integrated with the L70 radar guided Bofors anti-aircraft gun, in addition to our already deployed Soviet SA4/6/7 series with the ZSU-23-4 AA guns.

The Indian interceptor squadrons built around the MiG 23 Flogger, MiG 21 bis and the Mirage 2000, will have primary responsibility for sanitizing any F-16 ingress. Manned interceptors are essential as precision-guided munitions are currently more effective in offensive rather than defensive roles, so responsibility for sanitizing the F-16 cannot rest on SAMs alone. The Apex/Aphid, armed Flogger, unlike the others, is not truly an air combat fighter, but rather an air superiority aircraft whose strength is beyond visual range (BVR) interception and whose weakness is close in manoeuvring.

## Aphid Armament

Its primary armament, the AA-8 Aphid, is a formidable visual range missile, capable of high acceleration and manoeuvrability of upto 30g, over three times that of the F-16. The AA-7 Apex is a BVR weapon, capable of engaging the F-16 beyond the visual envelope, a capability the F-16 does not correspondingly possess, currently. The MiG 21 bis, on the other hand, falls short of the F-16 in all aerodynamic parameters like Turn rate,

Turn radii, Acceleration, Thrust-to-Weight ratios as well as in its Jay Bird Radar and Avionics performance. However, equipped with the Tumansky R25-300 engine, it dramatically increases its performances at high altitudes and, if armed with Aphid, results in a devastating synergy, capable of taking on the F-16 at almost equal terms.

The Mirage 2000, although our only aircraft of the F-16 generation, is currently a mixed bag. It lags behind the F-16 in all static engine and weight indicators, even when fitted with the upthrusted Snecma M53-P2 engine, which has yet to enter series production. The turn rates, both instantaneous and sustained, are comparable with the F-16, a tribute to its agility, but its primary AAM, the M550 Magic, is inferior to the AIM-9L Sidewinder, with its 'off boresight' capability. It is, therefore, imperative that the Indian Mirage also be armed with its sister weapon, the Super 530.

Although the missile is optimised for positive altitude difference interception (target above launcher), it can intercept targets with negative altitude differences as well, however, only when it is

armed with the Radar Doppler A Impulsions; yet to be deployed. Until then, the IAF will have to survive with the Radar Doppler Multifunctions with its smaller Look Down/Track capacity, and it cannot be sufficiently emphasised that the RDI, with its mature Look Down/Shoot Down capability, is a necessity required to counter the F-16s in a terrain-hugging profile, as well as to counter their lo-altitude superiority.

### Threat Containable

Assessing these data, the synergistic application of our assets in a counterair mode seems capable of containing F-16 ingress at high altitudes, although we have a slight disadvantage in that by 1985, when Pakistan will have acquired deployed strength, India will have only a fledgling Mirage capability. The F-16's unchallenged lo-altitude superiority can be countered by a combined arms approach, capitalising on our BVR Look Down/ Shoot Down interception capabilities made possible by the MiG 23/ High Lark/Apex and Mirage 2000/ RDI/Super 530 combinations.

Although the Pakistani F-16 capabilities are formidable, they are,

at least, containable in the present time frame as validated counter-technology and doctrine currently exist. The Indian window of vulnerability will open in the late 80s-early 90s when the F-16 capability enhancement programme becomes operational, a development that should be of serious concern to us, in view of the follow-on capabilities that will be added.

The F-16 will also be specially qualified for the Low Altitude Navigation Targeting Infra Red for Night system, involving automatic location, tracking and destruction of surface targets in night-adverse weather conditions at high speed and low altitude, a delivery system that dwarfs its present Doppler Beam sharpening abilities into insignificance. Pakistan's participation in the Multinational Stage Improvements Programme will also ensure that its F-16s will handle specialised payloads like modular and cruciform weapons, involving laser and infrared guidance systems. These are the threats to which the nation must address itself if the F-16 is not to become a larger-than-life problem in the nineties.

CSO: 4600/1424

TEXT OF 'PTI' INTERVIEW WITH DEFENSE MINISTER

New Delhi PATRIOT in English 7 Dec 82 p 2

[Article by J. P. Chaturvedi]

[Text] "By the time Pakistan gets its full complement (of F-16s), India will have sufficient air strength to meet the challenge," affirmed Union Defence Minister R Venkataraman in an exclusive interview to PTI Feature. The Mirage-2000 India is acquiring will be a counter to the F-16, as it is in the same class and has the same sophistication, he pointed out.

The Government has taken into account the implications of the steps Pakistan has taken for a massive induction of sophisticated weapons far beyond its legitimate needs, in building up India's defence preparedness, Mr Venkataraman assured me.

At the same time, the Defence Minister reiterated that "it is our policy to settle all international disputes by peaceful negotiations and we are pursuing that path", and that India is committed to utilize nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only.

He also disclosed that India has manufactured fin-stabilized anti-tank missiles and launched projects to produce surface-to-air, air-to-air and air-to-surface missiles. Also, "with a bit of luck, we will be able to produce a prototype in 1983" of an advanced tank which "will have greater fire-power mobility as well as immunity from attack," and which will be equal to tanks produced by other countries.

The aircraft carrier 'Vikrant' is being equipped with sophisticated aircraft like the Sea Harrier. India has also entered into an agreement with West Germany to purchase and later build SSK (submarine to submarines killer).

Following is the text of the interview:

Q: You have said in your Annual Report and in reply to the debate in the Lok Sabha that Pakistan has amassed the latest sophisticated arms, which have added greater threat to our country. In the light of these developments why has your Ministry been insisting that it will neither increase the

number of armed personnel nor the number of aircraft squadrons from 45, a figure fixed after the 1965 war?

Defence Minister: It is well known that Pakistan has taken steps for massive induction of sophisticated weapons far beyond its legitimate defence needs. The Government of India is aware of the implications of such acquisition of military strength by Pakistan. This is taken into account in our appraisal of the security environment and threat assessment. However, the defence preparedness of our country is built up on a systematic and careful assessment of all developments in the security environment.

It is not quite correct that the Ministry has been insisting on pegging down the number of armed personnel or the number of aircraft squadrons to a particular figure for all times to come. Increases have been sanctioned from time to time according to operational needs. Strengthening the armed forces is a continuous process involving increase in manpower, replacement of obsolete weapons and equipment, modernisation and upgradation of weapon system, and it has to be borne in mind that strengthening the defence does not necessarily mean increase in the number of armed forces personnel. In fact, one of the main accents in our defence plans is on securing greater fire power, mobility and more modern means of communication. The theory that numbers count is no longer correct because the wars have become more technological.

Q: What are the latest examples of improvements in greater fire power, greater mobility and more modern means of communication?

Minister: Within eight or ten months, we have concluded three major agreements. Mirage-2000 will be a counter for F-16 aircraft because they are of the same class and they have the same sophistication. By the time Pakistan gets its full complement (of F-16s), India will have sufficient air strength to meet the challenge.

Q: The policy of the Indian Government has been to utilise nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only, and not to detonate an atomic bomb. But what prevents you from using atomic energy in the construction of warships and submarines so that our ships may compete in speed and endurance with ships of those powers who are surrounding the Indian Ocean with their sophisticated war ships?

Minister: The Government of India is committed to utilise nuclear energy for peaceful purposes only. Our efforts to have a balanced growth of the Indian Navy with adequate coastal defence, ocean-going and underwater capabilities would not get hindered by our nuclear policy. There is a constant endeavour to ensure that the latest technology is made available, which need not have its confines in nuclear field alone.

Q: Why have we lagged behind in the manufacture of air-to-air, air-to-ground, ground-to-air and ground-to-ground missiles?

Minister: We have a long-term programme to reach a state of self-reliance in the manufacture of missiles for all purposes. Our defence research and production agencies are engaged in attaining this end.

Q: Can you give an idea of some achievements in the manufacture of missiles?

Minister: We have produced fin-stabilized, armour piercer descending Saho missiles, which are anti-tank missiles. We are doing a lot of work on missiles. We have recently started on a number of missile projects, including surface-to-air and air-to-air missiles, and we are also doing some work on air-to-surface missiles.

Q: How do you assess the strength of our Navy? What are its needs to be met, granting the fact that we have to guard our vast economic zone and deter others from attacking our ships or territory both in the east and the west?

Minister: The strength of the Indian Navy is assessed and reviewed from time to time. The emphasis is on the quality of personnel and the effectiveness of the ships/aircraft of the Indian Navy in relation to the threat environment in the region. Keeping in view the requirements of the Navy, plans are formulated to induct more modern units into service.

Q: What are the modern units that have been introduced during the period this government has been in office?

Minister: We are equipping our aircraft carrier Vikrant with sophisticated aircraft like the Sea Harriers. We have entered into an agreement with West Germany for first purchasing and then building the SSK submarines (submarine to submarine killer). We are building a number of frigates of Godavari Class, which are an improvement over the Leander Class.

Q: When will the advanced tank roll out of our factories? Will it compare with the German Leopard-II, American Abram's or Russian T-82 tanks or just the British Challenger and Chieftain?

Minister: With a bit of luck we will be able to produce a prototype in 1983. It will have greater fire-power, mobility as well as immunity from attack. The engine is being developed and, with the application of the technology of a turbo-charger, the horse-power of the engine can be further increased to equal that of some of the advanced tanks produced by other countries. Originally, the idea was to import an engine but later the decision to indigenize the engine was taken. And experiments are going on.

Q: India has formed a policy of promoting better relations with its neighbours like China and Pakistan, with whom it has had military disputes. Do you envisage that Indian territory in illegal occupation of these countries could be vacated without India acquiring military capability to take it back? If not, what steps are being taken to bring about that situation?

Minister: It is our policy to settle all international disputes by peaceful negotiations and we are pursuing that path.

Q: What has been the effect of liberalisation of entry rules for service in the Army? Has it helped to encourage talent and develop a spirit of adventure among those people who have kept aloof from Army so far?

Minister: It has had a good impact. Every part of the country feels that it has an effective role to play in the defence of the country. We have also relaxed some rules in respect of height etc., for the benefit of some ethnic groups who do not answer the requirements of height. We are watching the results.

Q: Have you undertaken any study of the Falklands war and its effect of the naval and aerial warfare techniques?

Minister: We are studying the course of the Falklands war, the equipment used, their performance, their efficiency, etc.

CSO: 4600/1451

LAST BATCH OF BRITISH JAGUARS DELIVERED

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 1 Dec 82 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Nov. 30.--The last batch of the Jaguar deep penetration strike aircraft has reached India, reports UNI.

With this, Britain has completed the supply of 40 Jaguars in fly-away condition to the Indian Air Force as contracted. With the arrival of the last batch, the IAF has formed two operational squadrons of Jaguars.

The introduction of the Jaguar into the IAF began with the receipt of the first two aircraft in July 1979 which heralded a new era providing India's air arm with the long-awaited long-range strike capability.

Meanwhile, Hindustan Aeronautics has assembled another two Jaguars. The first Indian-assembled Jaguar took to the skies on a maiden test flight on March 31 marking a new milestone in the Indian aeronautics industry. By the end of December 1982, HAL will have delivered three Jaguars to the IAF.

Under the contract signed with the manufacturers, British Aerospace, India had agreed to assemble and produce 45 Jaguars. However, according to official sources, the Ministry of Defence is now planning to assemble and produce more Jaguars than the 45 agreed to earlier.

Sources said besides this India might retain about eight of the loaned Jaguars. Britain had in the initial stages loaned one squadron to the IAF from the Royal Air Force stock and many had been returned as the new Jaguars arrived. The eight loaned Jaguars would be retained here if the price is settled.

Sources said the Indian Jaguars have been fitted with an uprated engine which would give the aircraft 27% more thrust and greater reliability to attack at tree-top heights. The Indian-built Jaguars are being fitted with digital navigational techniques and sub-systems for weapons aiming. They will also be fitted with a new weapon aiming computer. The Jaguar also incorporates a new laser ranger and marked target seeker in its nose cone.

In addition, the Jaguars will have a new second generation navigation attack system. The main platform for its systems will be produced by Sagem of France and its moving display system by Ferranti of Britain.

According to the sources, India is going to take a technological lead by installing the R-550 Matra magic missiles on the overwing pylons of the Jaguar. This has a tremendous application in future. With this improvement, the Jaguar will become the first aircraft in the world to have overwing missiles in an operational mode. The aircraft is being fitted with the French Agave radar which is specially meant for anti-ship strike task.

The Jaguar bill is likely to be offset to some extent with Britain buying back some of Indian-manufactured equipment worth £20 million.

The main battle tank being developed by Indian defence scientists--and which has rasied a storm of controversy in the media--would be the best in all respects, Dr Arunachalam, scientific adviser to the Minister for Defence said in Bombay today, adds PTI.

The "crisis" created following the refusal of the USA to deliver advanced electronic devices along with the F-16s will be solved during the Pakistani President General Zia-ul-Haq's coming visit to that country, according to UNI.

An American embassy spokesman said in Rawalpindi today that the crisis is of a "temporary nature and will be solved during President Zia's coming visit to the USA".

According to the Pakistani daily, NAWA-I-WAQAT, the USA "seems to have responded to Indian protests and concerns".

CSO: 4600/1429

## G. K. REDDY: INDIA FEELS F-16 THREAT CONTAINABLE

Madras THE HINDU in English 3 Dec 82 p 1

[Article by G. K. Reddy]

[Text] NEW DELHI, Dec. 2.

The Indian defence experts are waiting to see how the U.S. and Pakistan are going to resolve the controversy over the type of avionics to be provided for the F-16s the Zia regime is obtaining consistent with the assurances given by the Reagan Administration to India that these multi-purpose aircraft will be equipped only for defensive operations.

The highly sophisticated equipment that Pakistan is seeking include the very latest in Electronic Counter Measure (ECM) capability for avoiding detection by ground or airborne radar, ability to evade anti-aircraft missiles and radar-controlled ground fire, and also automatic fire-control systems for hitting the targets with deadly accuracy.

The U.S. has tried out this equipment under actual war conditions by leasing it to Israeli air force for destroying the Soviet-supplied missile batteries operated by the Syrian ground forces in the Lebanon, besides shooting down the MIG-21s and MIG-23s of the Syrian air force.

**Devastating effect:** The Israeli pilots flying the F-16s used this electronic equipment with such devastating effect that the Syria's missile ground-based batteries were completely neutralised and its frontline fighter and bomber aircraft rendered totally ineffective in coping with the Israeli air offensive.

The Israelis tried out successfully the new laser beam and infra-red guidance systems to automatically locate and destroy the Soviet-supplied batteries with their own electronic protection screens. The Israeli air forces F-16s were able to operate the deadly navigation and targeting equipment with great precision flying at low altitudes.

**Security clearance:** The U.S. air force is not prepared to give the necessary security clearance for the sale of this equipment even to other NATO countries at this stage, other than its own F-16 squadrons stationed in Europe. It is not known whether the equipment given to the Israeli air force for carrying out field tests

under battle conditions has been withdrawn or still left with it.

The other equipment that the U.S. is offering Pakistan is equally good for defensive purposes, since it has a first-rate interception capability with radar jamming devices for meeting the threat of an attack, but not adequate enough for offensive operations on the same scale as the Israeli air force carried out on the Syrian targets.

It remains to be seen whether Gen. Zia-ul-Huq will be able to persuade President Reagan to over-rule the U.S. air force objections and release the latest electronic equipment to give the Pak F-16s both an offensive and defensive capability and be able to pose an effective threat to India in the event of another sub-continent conflict.

But the Indian air force is not unduly disturbed over this prospect, since it is reasonably confident of facing the threat with an effective combination of equally sophisticated ground defence and aerial interception systems. It considers the formidable capabilities of the Pak F-16s containable under present-day operational conditions.

The Zia régime has paid for the first six F-16s with a credit of \$ 165 millions (Rs. 160 crores) obtained from Saudi Arabia, whose American-supplied aircraft of comparable sophistication are being flown and serviced by Pakistani pilots and technicians with American assistance. But the remaining 34 of the promised 40 F-16s will be sold on so-called concessionary credits by the U.S. over the next three or four years as part of the 3.2-billion-dollar military aid package.

The main Indian worry is not about the threat posed by these Pak. F-16s but the crushing economic burden that is going to be imposed by the need to obtain matching weapon systems to contain this threat. The Jaguars and Mirage-2000s, and MIG-23s and MIG-27s, will have to be backed by advanced radar and missiles to retain the necessary air supremacy over Pakistan.

**Gulf money:** It is this aspect that continues to worry India which is waiting to see how Mr. Reagan is going to deal with the Pakistani pleas for much more advanced systems than needed by its air force. The easy availability of Gulf money for Pakistan is another source of

worry for India's defence planners, who have to take into account the additional fact that in the event of hostilities the Zia regime can augment its offensive capability by borrowing some of the aircraft from countries, like Saudi Arabia that are already being flown by Pak. pilots.

CSO: 4600/1438

OFFICIAL SAYS SUBMARINES NOT TO BE BUILT AT VIZAG

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Dec 82 p 16

[Text] Rear Admiral B. R. Chowdhuri, Admiral Superintendent, Naval Dockyard, Vishakhapatnam, ruled out in Calcutta on Friday the possibility of building submarines at the Vizag dockyard in the near future. The dockyard has repair facilities for submarines of Soviet origin.

He said the Mazagaon dockyard in Bombay would soon build submarines of the type now under construction in West Germany for Indian Navy. He added that the engineering branch of the Indian Navy was now facing a shortage of officers.

To meet the situation, the system of Short Service Commission had been introduced in the engineering branch of the Navy last year. The period of service for a Short Service Commission Officer was five years.

Earlier, on the occasion of the launching of the CGS Rajkiran, a patrol vessel of the Coast Guard, designed like the Navy's Seaward Defence Boats, Rear Admiral Chowdhuri stressed the need to build warships in the country economically and within a specified time.

Otherwise, he said, self-reliance could not be achieved and the Indian dockyards would not be competitive.

He added that initially the Coast Guard was depending on the Navy for ships, sailors and repair facilities but it had now acquired a few Indian and foreign ships and had built up its own bases and repair facilities.

The vessel built at the Garden Reach Workshop, Calcutta, was the first in the series of three patrol vessels for the Coast Guard ordered at the workshop, Commodore A. K. Sarkar, Chairman and Managing Director of the Garden Reach workshop added.

He said that the Seaward Defence Boats, being built at the workshop, were an improved version of the boats built at the workshop earlier.

Commodore Sarkar said the workshop's capacity for building workshops would soon be augmented considerably and the system modernized. Apart from the Seaward Defence Boats, the workshop was building survey vessels and a large landing ship, for the first time in India. Mrs Chowdhuri launched the ship and formally named it.

CSO: 4600/1439

FIRST EXHIBITION ON DEFENSE RESEARCH OPENS

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Dec 82 p 5

[Text]

BOMBAY, November 30.

A LASER guidance system to illuminate enemy tanks by means of an "invisible" source, an inertial navigation system to guide missiles, and an aircraft "GTX" engine, are some of the items on display at an exhibition called "Glimpses of Indian Defence Research" at Nehru Centre, Worli.

The exhibition, the first of its kind, will be inaugurated by the Union defence minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman, on Thursday. It will remain open till December 24. It is organised by the defence research and development organisation.

The GTX engine, expected to be ready in 1990, will be installed in light combat aircraft. It has so far had about 1,300 starts and the cost of this project is nearly Rs. 100 crores.

**LASER SYSTEM**  
The laser guidance system is being developed at Hyderabad. The inertial

navigation system, which is also being developed at Hyderabad, has already been tested in the Canberra aircraft, and its accuracy was found to be two nautical miles per hour.

A hologram, used for coding, decoding and aero-testing is being developed by the organisation's laboratory at Dehra Dun. Some other items developed by the field laboratory at Leh, and the defence food laboratory at Mysore are also on show.

The scientific adviser to the defence minister, Dr. V. S. Arunachalam, told pressmen that there were 40 laboratories with a staff of about 25,000 under the organisation, including 8,000 scientists and engineers.

Explaining the purpose of the exhibition, the general secretary of the Nehru Centre, Dr. Raja Ramanna, said that although our country had made tremendous progress in the field of defence research, not many were aware of it.

CSO: 4600/1427

## MORE ON OPENING OF DEFENSE RESEARCH EXHIBITION

Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 3 Dec 82 p 5

[Text]

BOMBAY, December 2

**A**N exhibition of indigenously designed defence equipment was today thrown open to the public. Entitled "Glimpses of Indian Defence Research", it is on view at the Discovery of India hall of the Nehru Science Centre.

Inaugurating the exhibition, the defence minister, Mr. R. Venkataraman, said that a high level of research and development alone could not ensure successful innovation, unless it was backed by industrial and commercial elements in the chain,

In order to ensure that the investments on applied research and development become productive, an awareness of the development efforts in various establishments would help in speeding up the "innovation chain," he said.

"I visualise that the defence research and development organisation, with its record of successes in delivering products, will soon find itself overburdened with increasing demands for more and more complex systems. While this would be a healthy trend, one had to appreciate that the primary resource problem within would shift more to the availability of manpower than to financial constraints, he felt.

**TALENT NEEDED**

There was a need to attract bright scientists who had a bias towards research and development work. But, he added, "recruitment of scientists is one thing and sustaining and encouraging them in their pursuits is another."

Mr. Venkataraman said that most of the technological breakthroughs in

developed countries were a result of laborious research over the decades. "It is, therefore, unreasonable to ask our scientists for any major defence hardware within a few years," he said.

The activities of the department had resulted in the production of Rs. 360 crores of defence equipment. Its current annual budget was over Rs. 100 crores. Some of the items being developed were the main battle tank, the light combat aircraft, radars, gas turbine and communication systems.

The Maharashtra chief minister, Mr. Babasaheb Bhosale, said that the state government had so far given Rs. 2 crores to the Nehru Centre. It would give a sum of Rs. 1 crore this year and an equal amount next year, he said.

The general secretary of the Nehru Centre, Dr. Raja Ramanna, outlined some of the activities to be undertaken by the centre next year. From January, he said, there would be a series of lecture programmes.

Earlier, the joint secretary of the Nehru Centre, Mr. Ajit Mehta, welcomed the gathering. Mr. P. G. Salvi, chief executive, proposed a vote of thanks.

The exhibition will remain open till December 24, between 3 p.m. and 8 p.m. daily.

Speaking to newsmen later, Mr. Venkataraman said that India was constantly trying to match the type of equipment acquired by its neighbours.

The minister made this point when he was asked to comment about the U.S. almost yielding to Pakistan's demand to supply the latest electronic warfare equipment for the F-16s.

"It is a continuous process of updating our equipment," he said.

CSO: 4600/1437

INDIA

BRIEFS

INDIAN, PRC SCIENTISTS--Beijing, Dec. 3.--India and China will exchange published information in various fields of science, besides sponsoring visits by individual scientists in selective spheres to promote scientific research, reports PTI. The decision was taken at the just-concluded visit of an eight-member high-level delegation of Indian scientists to China, led by Mr M. G. K. Menon, president of the Indian National Science Academy. Mr Menon, who returned to India yesterday, said "many Chinese laboratories are specifically aimed at or dedicated to a particular objective, task or a mission with accountability". Mr Menon spoke highly of visits to laboratories in organic chemistry, bio-chemistry, besides the Institute of Technical Physics, Institute of Ceramics and the Institute for Plant Physiology, besides cell biology during the delegations' 11-day stay in China. The delegation was received on Wednesday by the State Councillor, Mr Fang Yi, and the vice-president of the Chinese Academy of Sciences, Mr Li Xun.

[Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Dec 82 p 5]

CPI-ML UNION--Chandigarh, Dec. 3.--The Indian Federation of Trade Unions--a front organization of the CPI-ML (Pulla Reddy group)--has decided to expand its membership and activities. The decision was taken at its three-day national conference held in Hyderabad from November 27 to 29. It was attended by representatives from 13 States. The first conference was held in 1978. According to a leader of the federation in Punjab, the conference discussed and approved three documents concerning its constitution, its programme and its national committee report. The federation has 200,000 members, and 700 trade unions are affiliated to it. It functions mainly in the collieries and iron mines. The Hyderabad meeting elected Mr K. D. Sethi of Jammu and Kashmir as its president and Mr Ramchandran as general secretary. It elected a 14-member national executive, giving representation to all State units. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 4 Dec 82 p 10]

STEEL OUTPUT--New Delhi, Dec. 3.--The production of saleable steel in the five integrated steel plants at Bhilai, Bokaro, Burnpur, Durgapur and Rourkela under the Steel Authority of India for the first eight months of the current financial year was 3.57 million tons. This is not going to bring any comfort to the Steel Ministry, since the production of saleable steel at 3.57 million tons (April-November) still seems far from the target of 6.42 million tons, set for the current year. The present thinking in the Steel Ministry is that the public sector steel plants at the end of the current

financial year will produce at the most 5.3 million tons. Should this happen, the plants will have yet another year of unimpressive performance. The plants had produced 5.62 million tons of saleable steel in 1981-82 against the target of 5.73 million tons. The target of 6.42 million tons of saleable steel for 1982-83 was fixed on the assumption of 90% capacity utilization. An official release of the Steel Authority of India issued today did not give the reasons for the shortfall in production.

KASHMIR PARTY CHANGE--Srinagar, Dec. 5. The Jammu and Kashmir Chief Minister, Dr. Farooq Abdullah who is also President of the ruling National Conference today announced drastic changes in his party's organisational set-up. Sheikh Nazir Ahmed, nephew of the late Sheikh Abdullah has been made the General Secretary, replacing Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Shah, younger brother of Dr. Farooq's main rival in the party Mr. Ghulam Mohammad Shah. Mr. Shah is Dr. Farooq's brother-in-law and former Minister. Mr. Abdul Samad Teli, MLA, has been installed President of the Kashmir valley writ of the National Conference, replacing Sheikh Nazir. A new party President for the Jammu region would be named soon after his return to Jammu, Dr. Farooq said. However, both Mr. Ghulam Mohiuddin Shah and the present provincial president of the Jammu region Mr. Raj Bali would continue as Cabinet Ministers.

[Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 6 Dec 82 p 9]

WEST BENGAL CPI-M LEADERS--Calcutta, Dec 7--Mr Saroj Mukherjee has been elected secretary of the West Bengal committee of the CPI-M. CPI-M general-secretary E M S Namboodiripad made the announcement at a Parade Ground meeting today. Mr Mukherjee was earlier elected at a meeting attended by three politburo members. Mr Namboodiripad said the void left by late Mr Promode Dasgupta cannot be filled by one single individual. The politburo has assured Mr Mukherjee that they would help him in making collective functioning in the party possible. Mr Saroj Mukherjee has been acting as secretary since the departure of Mr Dasgupta for Beijing on 28 October. Mr Mukherjee (71), a member of the CPI(M)'s central committee, had been the editor of the party's Bengali daily GANASAKTI. He had also been elected editor of the quarterly MARKSBADI PATH founded and edited by Mr Promode Dasgupta. The West Bengal CPI-M secretariat has also been expanded by including two more members, Mr Gopal Bose and Mr Lakshmi Sen. The secretariat had earlier 14 members, including Mr Dasgupta. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 8 Dec 82 p 1]

LEIPSIG FAIR PLANS--India will participate in the Leipzig Spring Fair in the German Democratic Republic beginning from 13 March next year. According to a Trade Fair Authority of India release the range of display will include heavy and light engineering industries, precision engineering equipment machines and components and leather goods. [Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 4 Dec 82 p 12]

PUNJAB DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS--Chandigarh, Dec 4 (PTI)--The Punjab unit of the Democratic Socialist Party has been dissolved and its convener along with 20 out of 30 executive members have joined the Cong-I. Convener Iawahar Sharma at a news conference in the Punjab Congress Bhavan here today said his decision was taken as they were "frustrated because of uncalled for support by the party president H N Bahuguna to Mrs Maneka Gandhi who had neither any

political status nor any programme. Mr Sharma, a Municipal Councillor, said that consequent upon the dissolution of the Punjab DSP unit, he has called off the two-day state level conference of the party at Moga from 11 December and informed Mr Bahuguna not to "take the trouble of visiting Punjab in this connection". Expressing his full faith in the leadership of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and Mr Rajiv Gandhi MP, Mr Sharma said he and other erstwhile DSP workers would work for strengthening the Cong-I and fighting the communist and extremist forces. PPCC-I President Hans Raj Sharma welcomed and admitted Mr Jawahar Sharma and other former DSP workers in the party fold.

[Text] [New Delhi PATRIOT in English 5 Dec 82 p 1]

IRANIAN OIL AGREEMENT--Nicosia, November 30 (AP): Iran and India have signed an agreement for the sale of 3,400,000 tonne (25.5 million barrels) of Iranian crude oil to India, Iran's oil minister, Mr. Mohammed Gharazi, announced yesterday. Teheran radio quoted the minister as saying the amount was the same as India's crude oil purchases from Iran last year. The price was not mentioned. The announcement was made following six days of talks in Teheran by the Indian deputy oil minister. The Indian official stated before leaving Teheran earlier in the day that "fruitful agreements" had been reached on economic and industrial exchanges. Iran's current production is estimated at 2.5 million barrels per day. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 1 Dec 82 p 9]

AID FROM NORWAY--New Delhi, Dec. 1. Norway will give financial assistance of Rs. 20.02 crores to India during 1983 for fisheries development, health and family welfare, science and technology and women and child development schemes. The minutes for the assistance were signed at the conclusion of talks between a Norwegian delegation and Union Ministries. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Dec 82 p 6]

FRENCH COLLABORATION--Visakhapatnam, Dec. 1. The Government-owned Bharat Heavy Plate and Vessels here has entered into an agreement with the French firm, L'Air Liquids for technical collaboration and for supply of equipment valued at Rs. 100 crores to the Vizag steel plant. The collaboration agreement is for manufacture of air and gas separation plants with a capacity of 2,000 tonnes a day for the first time in India on turnkey basis. It also envisages transfer of process and technical know-how by the French firm which is a world leader in cryogenics, to BHPV enabling it to make its own plants for production of gases or liquid, oxygen, nitrogen and argon. Under an earlier collaboration agreement entered into in 1971 BHPV has been manufacturing air and gas separation plants. BHPV has made and supplied small and large oxygen plants for the Bokaro and Bhilai steel plants. Its expertise and capabilities have won BHVP an order valued at over Rs. 100 crores from the Vizag steel plant for supply of three streams for oxygen plants of 550 tonnes a day capacity together with feed air oxygen-nitrogen compressors and associated large liquid storage system. The BHVP has made a profit of Rs. 60 lakhs during 1981-82 after meeting all financial obligations for the first time. [Text] [Madras THE HINDU in English 2 Dec 82 p 6]

MAHARASHTRA MINISTER'S DEATH--December 5. The Maharashtra education minister, Mrs. Sharadchandrika Patil (54), died at Chopda, about 45 km. from Jalgaon this morning following a heart attack, according to information reaching here today. [Excerpt] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 6 Dec 82 p 1]

MAHARASHTRA MINISTRY RESHUFFLE--November 22: The Maharashtra chief minister, Mr. Bhosale, today announced a reshuffle of portfolios of five ministers of state. In the reallocation, Dr. Shrikant Jichkar, has been allotted the health, medical education, drugs portfolios. He is relieved of the department of revenue. He continues to hold home and general administration. The cabinet rank portfolio for health is being held by the chief minister since it was taken away from Dr. Baliram Hiray recently. Dr. Hiray has been allotted irrigation. The portfolios of the remaining ministers of state are: Mrs. Kamala Ajmera--social and tribal welfare, cultural affairs; Mr. Kewalchand Jain, planning, energy, forests and legislative affairs; Mr. Vilas Desmukh, education, agriculture and transport; and Mr. Manikrao Bhamble, revenue and irrigation. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 23 Nov 82 p 1]

MORE MAHARASHTRA CHANGES--November 26: The finance minister, Mr. Ramrao Adik, has been allotted an additional portfolio of health, official sources said today. The health portfolio was being held by the chief minister, Mr. Babasaheb Bhosale, since it was taken away from Dr. Baliram Hiray who has now been allotted irrigation. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Nov 82 p 5]

NEW KERALA PARTY--Trivandrum, November 26: A new Socialist Republican Party, with Dr. Babu Vijayanath as its president, has come into existence in Kerala. Dr. Vijayanath said his party would have no truck with either of the two SRP factions fighting for recognition by the ruling United Democratic Front. He also said the party, which would concentrate on helping the backward community, would not join hands with the opposition. However, its policies clearly indicated it would lean more to the Left and the Marxist-led opposition front. The third SRP has been formed as a result of the mud-slinging, character assassination and corruption charges and counter-charges by the two warring factions, one led by Mr. T. V. Vijayarajan, an MLA, and the other by Mr. N. Srinivasan, the minister for excise. The new party has no representation in the state legislature. Frustration and disillusionment with the two fighting groups had forced the younger elements in the movement to seek a new path for the propagation of the ideals of Sree Narayana Guru, the social reformer who challenged the caste and class system in his days. The Sree Narayana Dharma Paripalana Sangham (SNP) is the spiritual inspiration for the new party and some SNP office-bearers are leaders of the third SRP. [Text] [Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English 27 Nov 82 p 9]

CSO: 4600/1407/1421

BAZARGAN LETTER DENOUNCES EXCESSES OF REVOLUTION

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic No 260, 15 Nov 82 pp 14-17

[Article by 'Ali Nurizadeh]

[Text] The "letter" arrived in Tehran and shook Khomeini's throne. The "strong" letter came from Mehdi Bazargan, the long-time fighter and first prime minister at the beginning of the revolution who resigned because of the American hostage play. The Islamic State Council entered the scene, relying on more than 4 million voices of the people of Tehran. AL-DUSTUR is the exclusive publisher of the letter sent by Bazargan to Hashemi Rafsanjani, president of Khomeini's State Council. From his exile in Paris Khomeini called Bazargan the "eternal revolutionary" and the spreader of forgiveness of the 20th century.

Before disclosing the contents of the letter of Bazargan the revolutionary, we must have a preface. Three weeks ago the people were performing the Friday prayers and listening to the imams of the mosques in Iranian cities who were repeating a single sermon which was in essence an attack on Bazargan and his organization the "Liberation Movement."

As usual, the people were aware the Khomeini was undoubtedly behind this attack because he usually directs the Friday imams from his office and issues instructions to them directly in weekly meetings.

The people expected the attack on Bazargan and his group to end in the expulsion of Bazargan and his followers from the Islamic State Council. The question was: Why this sudden attack without a previous indication in the official press or Khomeini's statements, as happened, for example, with the attacks on Qotbzadeh, Yazdi and Bani Sadr? It did not occur to anyone that the revolutionary leader Bazargan had dropped a bombshell on the regime when he sent his letter to Rafsanjani, not in his capacity as president of the Islamic State Council but as a temporary imam for the city of Tehran.

That is why the attack on Bazargan began in the mosques, then shifted to the Islamic State Council, the press, and finally the speeches of Khomeini. A week later, when the attack on Bazargan became more violent, his "letter" began to circulate among the people. The Iranians then knew why the man whom Khomeini called the chief of the strugglers and the "eternal revolutionary"

had suddenly become chief of the donkeys, an agent of liberalism, an enemy of the revolution, and other epithets repeated by Khomeini's imams in the mosques.

Text of the Letter

In the name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate

I bear witness that there is no God but Allah and I bear witness that Muhammad was the messenger of God and I bear witness that 'Ali was a holy man of God.

From Mehdi Bazargan to Hojjat ol-Eslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, servant of Imam Khomeini and Friday imam in the city of Tehran.

My dear Hojjat ol-Eslam: I am writing this letter without fear or hesitation even though I know your power and authority. I began it with the two professions of faith to confirm my awareness of your power in the midst of your guards and your army and your prisons. However, our lord 'Ali ibn-Abi-Talib taught us not to be afraid when we speak the truth and when we keep the people from reprehensible actions and command them to do good.

My purpose in writing to you is not to disparage anyone. On the contrary, it is solely to transmit the voice of the detained and imprisoned Iranian people.

In your capacity as temporary imam you admitted 3 weeks ago that the Islamic Republican government would not endure for a moment if the "guards" left our streets. This is a significant admission because it shows that your regime exists under the protection of machine guns and rifles.

My dear Hojjat ol-Eslam: You attack and describe us as "American agents and traitorous liberals." And you say the people are standing with you and we are a minority of Western agents. Good, you are sincere in what you say, but why are you afraid of us? Why do you confiscate our newspaper and prevent us from informing the people of our views? If you are with the people and the people are with you, why do you attack us and spread anxiety and confusion among the people? If you are the friends of the truth, why are you afraid of our criticism, the criticism of those who do not possess guns or bombs. Even in the days of the Shah we said what is truth and what is falsehood. The Shah and SAVAK did not frighten us any more than your regime and SAVAMA frighten us.

My dear Hojjat ol-Eslam: In advanced countries and in democratic states, there are numerous ways and means of learning the condition of the people and their thoughts, such as through studying newspapers, broadcasts parliament and political parties or through direct inquiry. But in a society governed by despotism, reactionism and fascism, a society which turns the political party into a tool in the ruler's hand with which to choke the people, a society in which newspapers are simply means for attacking the people and sabotaging society by order of the ruler; in such a society an individual, especially if his name is Mehdi Bazargan, the first prime minister in revolutionary Iran, simply must address you and tell you some unbelievable and sinister facts and stories.

### Destructive Criticism

You accuse us of "making noise" and indulging in destructive criticism. However, the truth is otherwise. We address you and speak to you in the name of the people. We are the ones who know the people, not you. We hear the voice of the people, not you.

I travel every day between my house and the State Council with people in public buses. And every day I talk to them and discuss their problems and misfortunes while you in your armored cars and magnificent palaces surrounded by guards with their rifles and Israeli Uzi machine guns and G-3s fly by so quickly at the speed of sound in the streets of northern Tehran that the people hear nothing from you but the sirens of the cars. The only voices of the people that reach you are the voices of those who praise and glorify you motivated by their need for a piece of bread. You do not listen to the voices of the people. We listen to them every day.

### Four Years

They ask, "What has the revolution brought us after 4 years except ruin and destruction, killing and torture and hatred?" They ask, "What has the revolution given us besides jails filled with prisoners? What has the revolution built for us except cemeteries?"

They say, "The revolution has brought us nothing but queues, high prices, unemployment, poverty, hunger, and vagrancy. It has brought us nothing but the murder of our sons, husbands and wives, empty slogans, and a black future." The people are asking and saying many things. Because of your refusal to listen to their voices and because you have broken relations with them, we call upon you and hope that God the Most High and All-Powerful will give us the courage and strength to bring the voice of the people to you.

### Your Constitution!

My dear Hojjat ol-Eslam: In your constitution which the imam describes as a "Koran" and for which 99 percent of the Iranian people voted and which you asked the people to obey because it is our "duty to preserve" the Islamic Republic constitution like the rules of Muhammadan law, this constitution gives the people the right to criticize and express their views freely. It also includes freedom of speech and assembly. Do any of these freedoms exist in Iran? You wrote a constitution that you do not respect.

### Judge Butcher

The constitution does not provide for torture, yet you torture people. The constitution does not provide for trials in secret tribunals in which there is no defense or fair-minded judge. The tribunal is presided over by a butcher called a "sharia judge." Oh Hojjat ol-Eslam, this is your policy within Iran. As for foreign policy, Iran is isolated from the world. As a result of your misdeeds and your policies, the world is united against us and our neighbors hate us.

### The Hostage Play

You squandered our supply of hard currency in the hostage play. You negotiated and came to an agreement with the Americans and didn't tell the people or the Islamic State Council what happened in Algeria between you and America. You and your mistaken policies brought Reagan to power and you introduced American and Israeli-Zionist influence into the region.

### The Two Satans

You sometimes call America the "greater Satan" and the Soviet Union the "lesser Satan." But you sign contracts for deals and projects amounting to billions of dollars with America's baby Turkey and with the Soviets' baby North Korea--all behind the scenes.

### Three Classes

National unity is lost and the great dream we had at the beginning of the revolution of building a democratic and free society is lost. You divided the united revolutionary society into three classes. You are the "elite" class, we are the "bewildered" class, and the rest of the people are the "rejected" class.

The people have begun to hate religion and are demanding the heads of the criminals who ruined it and killed Islam.

Oh Hojjat ol-Eslam, where is Islamic morality, compassionate religion, and Muhammadan forgiveness now? Where is the justice of 'Ali ibn-Abi-Talib?

Have you discovered a new religion? Have you found Islamic justice in mass executions carried out in a few minutes? If you have discovered this new religion, I wish you would tell us about your discovery and we will inform the world we are not Muslims like your Islamic republic.

### There Is No Compulsion in Religion

You say the signs of piety have begun to appear. Veiled women fill the streets and the mosques are very crowded. But have you forgotten what God said: "There is no compulsion in religion!"

Give the people freedom and you will see the streets change. People fill the mosques because the mosques have become "shops" to sell cigarettes and get "coupons" to meet their needs. The people take part in the demonstrations because they fear for their future in the government departments and factories in which they work.

The people have begun to withdraw. They have begun to hate the men of religion. Woe unto you and woe unto your future!

5214  
CSO: 4604/6

POSITIVE TREND IN PAKISTAN-U.S. RELATIONS NOTED

Karachi DAWN in English 12 Dec 82 p 9

[Editorial: "Pakistan-U.S. Relations"]

[Text]

PRESIDENT Zia-ul-Haq's visit to the United States should have a profound impact on Pakistan-US ties. Although the relationship between the two countries had in the last year or so begun to undergo a process of "reinvigoration", to use President Reagan's word, the Pakistani President's talks with American leaders in Washington last week have helped further strengthen ties. The unusual warmth and cordiality which marked the various ceremonies held during the General's stay in Washington point to the importance Pakistan now enjoys in American policy. The meeting of minds between the two Governments on important issues and their shared values and perceptions should help them place their friendship on a stable footing. It clearly emerged from the speeches made during President Zia's visit to the American capital that the major problem on which the two countries shared a common concern was Afghanistan. President Reagan and President Zia called for a political settlement of the Afghan issue based on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country. It is significant that both leaders perceive the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan as having brought

about a qualitative change in the region with grave implications for the security of the States of South-West Asia. For Pakistan, the Reagan Administration's response to these developments has proved to be a key factor in shaping its policy in the region. Islamabad and Washington have held similar views on Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and its likely effect on the geopolitical situation in South-West Asia. In this context, Pakistan's geographical position has assumed great importance in American eyes. The present Administration has made efforts to translate concern for Pakistan's security into tangible action. The 3.2-billion-dollar economic aid and military sales package offered by the US should help Pakistan to strengthen its defences and economy. Thus alone will it be in a position to withstand what President Zia called the "external forces of disruption." The accord for a Joint Commission signed in Washington on Monday also underlines the determination of the two Governments to strengthen their economic ties. The Commission will facilitate Pakistan-American cooperation in the field of economics, commerce, science, technology, education and culture.

President Zia's visit provided him with the opportunity to impress upon the American leadership the importance of a clear understanding of Pakistan's foreign policy and its position in South Asia. Thus, President Zia could emphatically tell his hosts that continued commitment to the principles of non-alignment and the objectives of the Islamic Conference are the fundamental postulates of Pakistan's foreign policy. He also made it clear that there was no scope for the use of the American Rapid Deployment Force in and around Pakistan. If the relationship between the United States and Pakistan is to rest on a stable and firm footing, it is important that the two Governments clearly define the framework within which they will be cooperating. In the absence of a clear understanding on the limits within which their security and economic relationship is to be based, serious differences can crop up at a later stage. It is heartening to note that President Reagan has shown a grasp of some of the imperatives of South Asian politics. Thus, he has welcomed the Indo-Pakistan move to reconcile their differences. But on the issue of Pakistan's nuclear programme, the two sides do not appear to be in agreement. Although the nuclear question has not been allowed to stand in the way of friendly relations as had happened previously when American aid to Pakistan was twice suspended, it is in the interest of both countries that the issue be resolved to their mutual satisfaction.

CSO: 4200/242

TRIBAL AREA'S PROGRESS REVIEWED

Karachi DAWN in English 12 Dec 82 pp 11, 12

[Article by Rafique Jabir]

[Text]

In the last five years, the tribal areas adjoining NWFP have witnessed tremendous progress. As a result these hitherto neglected areas, which represented the country's backyard, are fast joining the national mainstream. Generous and liberal budgetary allocations by the Federal Government, coupled with the efficient utilisation of the available resources by the provincial administration has gone a long way in accelerating the pace of progress. No wonder, therefore, that the tribal scene has changed radically eliciting the following remark from a former NWFP Governor:

"He was fascinated to see a valiant Mehsud at a bazar of Tank holding a yard stick in his hands instead of a gun, and measuring cloth instead of fighting."

The tribesmen are now actively involved in development activity. A large number of them have left their abode and have settled down in flourishing business centres. While many of them are engaged in business and industrial pursuits outside the tribal areas, the tribesmen are also to be found in Armed and Civil services in sizable strength. Particularly, in the field of transportation, their preponder-

ance is well pronounced in places like Karachi, Punjab and NWFP. Their enterprise and initiative match the business acumen and expertise of any urban entrepreneur.

During the colonial rule, deliberate attempt was made to keep these areas backward letting the valiant tribesmen languish in utter poverty and privation. But after the dawn of freedom, vast avenues of gainful employment has opened up for these people who are now actively participating in national affairs. Their patriotism is second to none and they are always prepared to come up to the expectations of the Father of the Nation who regarded them as our first defence line on the western borders'.

Development activities in these areas have expanded manifold in recent years due to the increase in budgetary allocations. During the last five years, an expenditure of Rs. 11.25 crore has been incurred on the development activities in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. This is a record development outlay in the history of these areas. Of the total outlay, communication has claimed Rs. 405 million, education Rs. 228 million and village electrification Rs. 135 million. In addition to this, Rs. 30 crore has been spent on the uplift of tribal areas through FATA Development Corporation which brings the grand total to Rs. 141 crore.

Upto June, 1981, the highest amount went to South Waziristan Agency (Rs. 93.97 million) followed by Orakzai (Rs. 87.95 million), Kur-

**POPULATION CENSUS OF TRIBAL AREA 1980-81**

1.	KHYBER AGENCY	2,82,000
2.	MOHMAND AGENCY	1,61,000
3.	BAJAUR AGENCY	2,87,000
4.	ORAKZAI AGENCY	3,56,000
5.	KURRAM AGENCY	2,89,000
6.	NORTH WAZIRISTAN	2,35,000
7.	SOUTH WAZIRISTAN	3,08,000
8.	F.R. KOHAT	57,000
9.	F.R. PESHAWAR	37,000
10.	F.R. BANNU	78,000
11.	F.R. D.L KHAN	85,000
		<b>21,75,000</b>

ram (Rs. 87.81 million), North Waziristan (Rs. 85.73 million), Mohmand Agency (Rs. 75.40 million), Khyber Agency (Rs. 71.17 million) and Bajaur (Rs. 69.9 million). The Frontier Region Areas of Peshawar and Kohat got Rs. 11.43 million and Rs. 24.84 million and F.R. areas of Bannu and DI Khan received Rs. 25.3 million and Rs. 14.66 million. In addition to this, under divisional programme of Peshawar and DI Khan Rs. 87.59 million and Rs. 83.62 million were spent respectively.

#### **AGRICULTURE:**

Agriculture has been given high priority in the development scheme for the area. During the last five years, no fewer than Rs. 22.82 million have been spent on agriculture extension schemes. Under this programme, more than 14 lakh fruit plants have been distributed, while an area of 73 hectares has been sprayed. Ninety-five students have been awarded scholarships to obtain graduation in agriculture. Agriculture engineering has claimed of sum of Rs. 26.50 million. The amount has been utilised for levelling and improving more than 19,000 acres of land for better yield.

A liberal provision of Rs. 12.29 million has been made for the promotion of animal husbandry. Four new veterinary dispensaries have been opened, while other four have been improved. In addition, 59 students received scholarship for pursuing veterinary training. A share of Rs. 24.35 million was claimed by forestry. Twenty-three thousand mulberry saplings were distributed and 132 nurseries established. This was in addition to 3,000 acre block and 365 avenue

miles linear plantation.

#### **POWER:**

In the power sector, an expenditure of Rs. 135 million has been made. The allocation has been utilised for the electrification of 788 additional villages, installation of 560 transformers and laying of 545-mile-long H.T. Lines and 518-mile-long L.T. Lines. To expedite the village electrification programme, five Grid Stations at Jamrud, in Khyber, Thall, in Kurram, Jandola, in South Waziristan, Khqar, in Bajaur, and Ghallanai, in Mohmand Agency, have either been commissioned or are nearing completion.

Liberal power connections have been awarded in tribal areas, which include one-and-a-half-lakh new domestic, three-and-a-half thousand agriculture and about three thousand industrial/commercial consumers. In different areas, 82 additional street lights have also been provided.

#### **COMMUNICATION:**

A total expenditure of Rs. 405.60 million has been incurred in the communication sector during the last five years which have been utilised for the construction of 170 miles of black topped, 295 miles of shingled road and 22 bridges and improvement of 368 miles of the existing roads.

#### **PUBLIC HEALTH ENGINEERING:**

During the period under review, Rs. 68 million have been spent on drinking water scheme. No less

than 87 big projects have been completed as a result of which 12 per cent of the population in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas has started receiving potable water in 1980-'81 as against 5 per cent in 1976-'77.

#### **HOUSING:**

The housing sector has claimed a share of Rs. 46.38 million in the development outlay during the last five years leading to the completion of 150 units. During this period, major office and residential colonies were completed at Khar (Bajaur), and Gallanai (Mohmand Agency). The Agency Headquarter Colony at Kalaya, in Orakzai Agency, is nearing completion.

#### **EDUCATION:**

An amount of Rs. 228.66 million has been spent on the education sector during the period under review. The physical progress achieved include establishment of 180 new primary schools, construction of 253 primary, 13 middle and 5 high school buildings, upgradation of 86 primary and 28 middle

schools to the status of middle and high standard. Additional rooms were constructed in 112 schools, 14 science laboratories were provided and eight students hostels were established.

Female teachers were provided 70 residential quarters. In the college sub-sector, two degree college buildings at Darra Adam Khel (F.R. Kohat) and Khar (Bajaur) have been completed, while four other college buildings at Landikotal (Khyber), Rkka Ghund (Mohmand) Ladha (South Waziristan) and Wana are nearing completion. The building for the Cadet College, Razmak has also been completed.

#### **HEALTH:**

During the last five years, a sum of Rs. 93.10 million has been spent in this sector. The physical progress achieved include opening of 50 basic health units, establishment of 172-bed hospital at Parachinar, 50-bed hospital at Wana, 8-bed hospital at Kalaya and 102-bed hospital at Landikotal, upgradation of five dispensaries and improvement of eight existing hospitals and dispensaries.

#### **Rural Development Programme:**

Under this head, more than 2,000 small schemes have been implemented at a total cost of Rs. 40.51 million. Under the schemes, 15 miles shingled and 28 miles Kacha roads have been built and 84 irrigation bunds have been constructed for flood protection.

#### **Fata Development Corporation:**

An amount of Rs. 298.54 million has been spent by the FATADC on various schemes in the water, industries and mineral development sectors. In the water sector, improved irrigation facilities for 23, 746 acres of land have been provided, and an additional area of 54,115 acres has been brought under irrigation. Important schemes include Bara River Canal System, Zairan, Shalgan and Speen Plain Irrigation Scheme and underground water investigation schemes in various agencies. In Bajaur Agency, 110 tube-wells are being sunk under this scheme.

Five industrial units have been completed during the last five years which include leather tannery and footwear and leather industry at Spinkai Raghzai, carpet yarn making factory at Miranshah and marble processing plant at Paindi Lalma, in Khyber Agency.

In the mineral sector, exploitation of soap-stone, in Kurram Agency has started, while during 1981-82, 10 schemes have been undertaken which include oil expelling and refining plant in Bajaur Agency, brick manufacturing plant in Khyber Agency and carboard making plant in F. R. Bannu.

DEVELOPMENT IN NWFP'S FEDERALLY ADMINISTERED TRIBAL AREA DISCUSSED

Karachi DAWN in English 12 Dec 82 pp 12, 13

[Article by M.A.M.]

[Text]

The Federally Administered Tribal Area, commonly known as FATA have witnessed gigantic development during the last five years. In this period, these areas not only received generous budgetary allocations from the government for their development needs but constant vigil and regular supervision of the Provincial Chief Executive, who also functions as agent to the President in addition to his normal duties as Governor, have made these allocations worthwhile.

With the special interest of the President, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq and able support of the Provincial Governor, Lt. Gen. Fazle Haq the tribesmen of these hitherto neglected area are feeling that they are getting the service, in the shape of development, at their doorsteps.

Since the inception of Pakistan, the Government of Pakistan has adopted a different policy towards the tribal areas which is based on the Islamic principles of brotherhood. All the colonial approaches, tactics and manners were discarded. The Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah made the historic announcement that all troops be withdrawn from the tribal areas. This inculcated in tribesmen the spirit of confidence and they later proved

themselves as "sword in arm" for Pakistan during every hour of need.

After the creation of Pakistan, from the policy of economic absorption, adopted by the Government of Pakistan, accrued tangible results. It attracted the majority of tribesmen to participate in the affairs of the newly-born country, with full vigour and zeal. The tribesmen soon achieved prominent positions in both the private and public sector. They did not restrict themselves to the tribal areas but went to settled areas as well.

The present government encouraged this policy and put in real efforts to improve the quality of life and to provide all basic amenities to these areas. Even the far-flung places received immediate attention of the government. During the last five years, 110 crore have been incurred on developmental activities in tribal area. The sector wise allocation was as under:-

- \* Communication Rs: 40 crore, 36%,
- \* Education, Rs: 23 crore, 20%,
- \* Power, Rs: 14 crore, 12%,
- \* Health, Rs: 9.5 crore, 8.6%,
- \* Public Health Engineering, Rs: 6.7 CRORE, 6.1%.

The Communication Sector received the highest priority because improvement of roads and bridges in the prime problem which needs to be tackled effectively. In addition to this the Power Sector received a substantial allocation. The main thrust of development has been towards the creation of basic infrastructure and strengthening

of social services like Education and Health. Efforts have been made to achieve the priorities and objectives as determined by the 5th five year plan.

Sector wise achievement during the last five years has been as under:-

**AGRICULTURE:** In the sub-sector, Agriculture Extension, Rs 2.4 crore have been spent. With this allocation 95 scholarships to BSc students were awarded, 74,000 hectares area was sprayed, over eight lac cubic ft stores fumigated, 14 lakh fruit plants and 120 hand sprays were distributed. In Agriculture Engineering sector Rs. 2.6 crore were spent and about 20,000 acres of land was levelled and improved for agriculture.

With an allocation Rs 1,20,00,000 for Animal Husbandry, 34 new Veterinary dispensaries were opened, 21 scholarships were awarded, about 4 lakh animals treated and other 2 lakhs were supplied with medicines. Three insemination centres were opened and seven veterinary dispensaries and hospitals were improved.

In Forestry Sub-Sector Rs 2.4 crore were utilised and 3,079 acres of block plantation and 365 avenue miles of linear plantation were achieved while 137 nurseries established and 23,000 mulberry trees were distributed.

**POWER:** During the last five years, an expenditure of Rs 13.65 crore was made under this sector, villages numbering 767 were as a result electrified, 561 transformers were installed, 540 miles long H.T. Lines and 507 miles long L.T. lines were completed, four grid stations were established which are located at Jamrud, in Khyber, Thall, in Kurram, Jandola, in South Waziristan and Khar, in Bajaur Agency.

**COMMUNICATION:** Rs 39.59 crore have been incurred in tribal areas during the last five years. Black topped roads measuring 251 miles, 415 miles long shingled

roads and 28 bridges have been constructed and 464 miles long existing roads have been improved.

**PUBLIC HEALTH ENGINEERING:** During the last five years an expenditure of Rs 6.757 crore has been incurred on drinking water schemes in FATA. A total number of 83 schemes were completed. With the completion of these schemes the percentage of population served by drinking water in FATA has risen from 6.91% in 1977-78 to 14.47% by the end of 1981-'82.

**HOUSING:** In this sub-sector Rs 4.848 crore were spent during the last five year and a total number of 220 units were completed. During this period, major office and residential colonies were completed at Khar (Bajaur Agency) Ghallani (Mohmand Agency) Maroono Shah (Bajaur Agency) Mohammad Gat (Mohmand Agency) Landikotal (Khyber Agency) Agency Headquarters Kalaya, Office accommodation at Parachinar and Tehsil building at Razmak.

**EDUCATION:** During the last five years Rs 22.4 crore were spent on the promotion of educational facilities. With this allocation 177 new Primary Schools were established and buildings of 203 other Primary Schools were constructed, while 66 schools were upgraded to Middle status. Eleven buildings for middle schools were constructed and 28 middle schools were upgraded to high standard and 3 buildings for high schools were constructed. Additional rooms in 112 high schools, 14 science laboratories and eight hostels and 60 quarters for female teachers were constructed. Six buildings for colleges were provided at Dara Adam Khel, Khar, Landi Kotal, Ladha, Wana and Ekka Ghund, while construction work at Sadda is nearing completion.

Primary enrolment for boys increased from 38,962 in 1977 to 50915 by the end of 1981-'82 and for

girls from 2,268 to 3,956 during the same period. The enrolment for boys at middle level increased from 14,382 to 18,398. The building for the first and only Cadet College of tribal areas at Razmal was completed at a cost of more than 11 million, while extension is being carried out at a cost of 14 million rupees.

**HEALTH:** During the period 1977-'82, a sum of Rs. 9,582 crore was spent in the Health Sector, with which 50 basic health units 172-bed hospital at Parachinar,

50-bed hospital at Wana, 10-bed hospital at Razmak and Datta Khel, in North-Waziristan, 8-bed hospital at Bichikashkai (North Waziristan) and at Kalaya (Orakzai Agency), 102-bed hospital at Landi-Kotal and a student hostel for 200 tribal students of Khyber Medical College were completed.

**RURAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME:** During the five years under review (1977-'78 to 1981'82) a total of 2,809 small schemes under the programme were implemented at a total cost of Rs 3.992 crore. In addition an IRDP Markaz at Parachinar has been in operation since 1974.

**FATA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION:** During the last five years (1977-'78 to 1981-'82) an amount of Rs 29.24 crore has been spent by the Corporation on various schemes under water, industries and mineral development sectors.

The major projects undertaken and completed by the Corporation during the five years period are discussed below:-

**WATER SECTOR:** In the water sector, improved irrigation facilities for 23,746 acres of land were provided and 54,115 acres of new land were brought under irri-

gation. Some major schemes are listed below:-

- (i) Bara River Canal System (Rs 5.84 crore)
- (ii) Zeiran Irrigation Scheme (Rs 0.420 crore)
- (iii) Underground Water Investigation in Bajaur Agency through Installation of 110 tubewells.

**INDUSTRIES:** During the last five years the following industrial units have been completed in the tribal area:-

- (i) Leather tannery and footwear at Spinkal-Raghzai,
- (ii) Carpet yarn making factory at Miranshah
- (iii) Marble processing plant at Paindi lalma.

**MINERAL SECTOR:** Exploitation of soap stone in Kurram Agency has been started. Detailed survey investigation and exploration activities in FATA areas are in progress.

CSO: 4200/242

PAKISTAN

PLEA FOR SMALL UNITS

Karachi DAWN in English 12 Dec 82 p 7

[Text]

Lt-Gen (Retd) A.A.K. Niazi, President of the defunct Pakistan Muslim League (Qayyum group), has suggested that the provincial barriers should be broken and small administrative units be formed to eliminate the evil of provincialism, parochialism and regionalism in the country.

Talking informally to newsmen in Karachi he said his party was against the nationalisation of industries. Besides, it considers further land reforms as unnecessary, though it wants the left-over state land to be distributed free among the landless tillers.

Gen Niazi told a questioner he had recommended to the then C-in-C, Pakistan Army, that a political solution should be found to the East Pakistan problem.

He claimed that his party was "in tact" even though some of its members had crossed over to the Pakistan Muslim League (Pagaro group). He said he was currently touring the country to reorganise the PML (Qayyum group).

He named Mr Zahoor Alam Khan of Nawabshah as head of the PML (Sind) and Begum Major (Retd) Abdul Khan Saqib as Chief organiser of Sind Women wing.

CSO: 4200/242

PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

JOINT VENTURE IN COMPUTERS--NEW YORK, Dec 11--As a mark of confidence in the performance of Pakistan's economy an American company announced here today a joint project to produce computers in Pakistan. It has formed a new firm--Pakistan Computers Limited--in conjunction with a Pakistani partner, the Medico Electronics Ltd. of Karachi. Labour and other indigenous components are listed to amount to over 50 per cent of the manufacturing value added. The computers will be produced under licence and will be exported to the Middle East, besides its marketing in Pakistan itself. The new firm has a long-term plan to make low-cost computers available to schools, colleges and universities. [Karachi DAWN in English 12 Dec 82 p 8]

JOURNALIST'S CASE ADJOURNED--LAHORE, Dec. 14--The summary Military Court No. two has adjourned the hearing of the cases against Idrees Butt, local correspondent of the daily 'Aman', Karachi, to Dec. 27. Idrees Butt is out on a bail worth Rs. 2 lakh these days. He is being tried under MLR 13. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Dec 82 p 6]

FULL SUPPORT FOR PAGARA--KARACHI, Dec. 14--The Vice President of the defunct Muslim League, Sarfaraz Khan, expressed his surprise at the news item which appeared in a section of the Press regarding the authority of Pir Sahib of Pagara, President of the Pakistan Muslim League, in negotiating and talking decisions on the political parties with the government and other political parties in the country. Sarfaraz Khan categorically stated that the working committee of the Pakistan Muslim League (defunct) has "unanimously authorised Pir Sahib of Pagara to deal with the negotiations independently, and that all his decisions shall have the unequivocal support of the managing committee". He further reiterated that although the managing committee had unanimously given the sole rights to Pir Sahib of Pagara, he always takes his colleagues and the whole working committee into confidence and discusses important matters with them, which otherwise is not mandatory on him. [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 15 Dec 82 p 8]

CSO: 4200/242

END